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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 15 July 1993, at 11.30 a.m.

President:	Sir David HANNAY	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Spain	Mr. PEDAUYE
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Miss TRUJILLO

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The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION II (UNAVEM II) (S/26060 and Add.1 and Add.2)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Egypt, Namibia, Portugal, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. De Moura (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mrs. Hassan (Egypt), Mr. Gurirab (Namibia), Mr. Catarino (Portugal), Mr. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Musuka (Zambia) and Mr. Shamuyarira (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II), documents S/26060 and Add.1 and Add.2.

(The President)

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/26064, letter dated 9 July 1993 from the Permanent Representatives of Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/26076 and S/26081, letters dated 13 and 14 July 1993, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Uganda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the Minister for External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venancio De Moura. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. DE MOURA (Angola): I wish first to say "Good morning" - "Bom dia". I will speak in Portuguese, the official language of my country, so I hope that the Secretariat has prepared the necessary conditions to help me deliver this communiqué.

(Mr. De Moura, Angola)

(spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation)

It is always a great honour for us to address this distinguished gathering of the Security Council, which will once again today discuss and make important decisions on the grave and dramatic political, military and socio-economic situation that prevails in our country, the Republic of Angola, as a result of the crisis brought about by Mr. Savimbi.

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola, allow me to commend the efforts that you, Mr. Secretary-General, and the Security Council, are making towards the restoration of peace and national reconciliation in our country. A word of appreciation must also go to Miss Margaret Anstee for her arduous work throughout the time she has served the Organization as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola.

Although his stay in our country has been short, we take the opportunity to extend our appreciation to the Secretary-General's newly appointed Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Beye, for the intense and valuable activity he has already performed in the cause of peace and national reconciliation in Angola. We express our hope for his success in his arduous and distinguished endeavours, helping us to restore the peace we so much need in Angola, not confusing the legitimate Government with those who act outside the rules of coexistence and democracy.

We extend our gratitude to two distinguished sons of Africa, General Edward Unimna of Nigeria, and General Michael Nyambuya of Zimbabwe, for the brilliant way in which they commanded the military contingent of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II). We are confident that the new Commander, General Chris Garuba of Nigeria, will, in leading UNAVEM II, follow the example of his comrades-in-arms who preceded him. The

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Angolan Government will consider ways and means to ensure that his duties are fulfilled in the best possible manner.

We express once again to the friendly people of Brazil, and in particular to the Brazilian armed forces, our feelings of deep sorrow over the tragic death of Sergeant Adilson Barbosa da Costa, who was among those who lost their lives in the cause of peace and international security. On behalf of my Government and people, a peace-loving people, we pay a heartfelt tribute to Sergeant da Costa.

We should also like to reiterate to the Government of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, and in particular to His Excellency President Houphouet-Boigny, our deep appreciation for the efforts he has exerted in the cause of peace in Angola. We hope that they will continue so that Abidjan will become a reality.

We give thanks for the solidarity that has been demonstrated by various Member countries of the Organization and for the multi-faceted diplomatic and moral support given our Government. That support was expressed in the statement from the recent observer States "Troika" meeting in Moscow, demonstrating clearly that we have the legitimate right to self-defence and that we cannot leave in foreign hands the defence of the integrity, sovereignty, independence and emerging democracy of Angola.

The Angolan Government has for long been calling the attention of this important United Nations organ to UNITA's persistence in continuing to bear arms to obtain the power that the people denied it at the polls. We have stated repeatedly that UNITA does not want to stop its armed actions, and we have suggested that it must consequently be stopped with all the effective means at our disposal.

Today we can conclude that the resolutions whose adoption causes the Organization so much work are proving to be less and less effective in forcing

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UNITA and Mr. Savimbi to follow the peaceful path of dialogue and to participate in the democratization of Angolan society. As we have always said, the Government has no intention of eliminating UNITA as a political party. However, we do not accept an armed party, such as UNITA is under the leadership of Mr. Savimbi.

In our opinion, each resolution that is adopted and not complied with by UNITA leads to a pattern of behaviour that we must avoid at all costs. Therefore, we wish to state that the time has come to move from the phase of simple resolutions of condemnation to the adoption of appropriate coercive mechanisms, finally putting an end to the rebellion against, and defiance of, a legitimate Government and the international community itself, a rebellion by a militaristic group guided by a man called Mr. Jonas Savimbi.

My Government believes that the Security Council has the appropriate mechanisms to put a definitive end to the actions that have once again been condemned by this important organ. It is necessary therefore for all countries and organizations to abstain from providing any and all types of support to UNITA, which they provide at the risk of encouraging it to continue to disregard all the commitments that it has knowingly and voluntarily assumed.

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I should like to remind the Council that by its incessant activities the militaristic wing of UNITA is totally challenging the authority of the Security Council. It is essential that we try to safeguard at any cost the authority of this most important organ of the United Nations if we do not want to run the risk of creating a serious precedent, one that would certainly make it difficult for us, in the future, to arrive at a peaceful solution to the varied conflicts that proliferate throughout the world.

Without wishing to tire Council members, I should like to characterize in a few words the behaviour of UNITA vis-à-vis the decisions of the Security Council, which expresses the prevailing situation in Angola and demonstrates UNITA's bellicose and genocidal nature.

Resolutions 804 (1993), 811 (1993) and 834 (1993) have been exhaustively analysed, and they have not been complied with. In this way, UNITA has frustrated the willingness of the Government of the Republic of Angola, in accordance with the appeals of the international community, to reach a negotiated solution to the crisis in the light of the peace agreements and for the re-establishment of a cease-fire without preconditions. It failed to show up for the second round of negotiations in Addis Ababa; it refused to sign the Memorandum of Understanding of the Abidjan Protocol; and it put at risk the physical and spiritual integrity of the UNAVEM II personnel and people's lives, as well as the property of specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations in Angola, which are involved, for example, in emergency relief and humanitarian aid operations without discrimination.

UNITA's actions have met with the condemnation of the Security Council for its refusal to release both Angolan citizens and foreign nationals who are being held as hostages; for its refusal to be part of the political

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institutions established on the basis of resolutions and on the basis of the outcome of the election and to participate in substantial negotiations with the Government of Angola; and for its decision to remove its troops from the new Angolan armed forces.

By the same token, in spite of all the efforts of the international community, it seems to us there is finally understanding of the true essence of the Angolan problem, which can be summed up in the unilateral violation by UNITA of the peace agreements and other peace platforms that have been tried. UNITA continues its armed attacks, with the defenceless civilian population and the socio-economic infrastructure of the country as its main targets. And it continues to occupy, by force of arms, various parts of the national territory, where it is unfortunately committing the most barbarous violations of human rights, of which the world knows little.

As members know, the rekindling of the war in Angola was exclusively carried out by UNITA, when, reacting to its defeat in the legislative elections of September 1992, it opted for a military solution on the pretext of supposed voter fraud and proceeded to ignite ethnic and regional sentiments. This posture, which is not unrelated to the boundless ambition of its head, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, for power, has so far resulted in incalculable loss of human life and property damage to the Angolan people as well as shattered hopes for a successful democratization and pacification process in Angola, as one people under one nation.

Never in so short a period of time as this, since the resumption of the war, have so many deaths and so much destruction occurred, factors which have made the lives of most Angolans precarious. At this very moment, about 3 million displaced persons are seeking refuge in areas under the control of

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the Government. They are suffering from hunger and lack the most elementary health-care services.

Without exaggerating, we can state, based on our most recent statistics, that more than 1,000 people are dying in Angola every day as a direct or indirect consequence of the war waged by Mr. Savimbi. In that context, we urge the international community, bilaterally and multilaterally, to continue to provide necessary assistance to the affected populations.

Our productive agricultural areas, which occupy 80 per cent of Angolan territory, have been devastated, and in many cases their populations have been massacred. Thousands of other Angolans and some foreigners are under siege in cities and towns surrounded by or under the control of UNITA forces, which prevent the free passage of any humanitarian aid from the United Nations by attacking its aeroplanes. We hope that in some regions of the country some of the assistance will be able to reach those in need in a regular manner.

Notwithstanding that warlike behavior, the Government of the Republic of Angola has acted with flexibility and tolerance and through dialogue, making itself available to participate in talks and making other important concessions which the international community and, in particular, the observer countries of the peace process had the opportunity to witness during all the rounds of talks - in the Angolan city of Namibe, in Addis Ababa and in Abidjan. We accept, under peaceful conditions, the presence of UNITA members in the national unity Government at all levels - central and local - and their welcome participation in the armed forces and other State organs, despite the fact that the MPLA, as winning party in the legislative elections, has the prerogative of forming the Government by itself.

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The failure of the latest round of negotiations in Abidjan was due solely to UNITA's refusal to sign the Abidjan Protocol, rejecting the clause providing for its vacating the cities and towns that it is occupying illegally, in open and grave violation of the peace agreements and of the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council.

We wish to emphasize that the signing of the Abidjan Protocol, concluded after laborious efforts under the auspices of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Anstee, and with the valued cooperation of the peace process observers, would lead to the re-establishment of the cease-fire, clearing the way for re-implementation of the peace accords.

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By acting in this way, UNITA, in addition to standing up against the Angolan people and their democratically elected leaders, is challenging the whole international community. In the face of UNITA's actions and its disregard for Accords that were internationally recognized and endorsed, we can consider that democratic rules and principles are being threatened internationally, under the rule of the bayonet, at least in some least developed countries.

Unfortunately, UNITA's strategy seems to be encouraged by the support it is still receiving from certain countries and conservative circles that want to see an escalation of the war in Angola. The movement would never show such defiance towards the international community without the strategic and logistical support with which it is being provided. What lies behind this military capability of Mr. Savimbi, we ask ourselves? What will be the Council's position in the event that Mr. Savimbi continues with his intransigence because he is confident in the military capability he receives? Military and extremist forces from South Africa continue to provide military and other assistance, via Zaire, for the bellicose actions of UNITA. We do not like to emphasize also that the Republic of Zaire, a country with which we are related historically and by blood, is participating directly in this logistical support through the utilization of its territory as a strategic and logistical base for introducing men and matériel that are destabilising the northern and north-eastern parts of Angola.

The Angolan Government considers that the solution to the crisis prevailing in Angola must necessarily be based on respect for the letter and spirit of the Bicesse Accords and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the implementation of which, because of UNITA's obstinacy, calls for a firmer and more demanding approach by the international community. UNITA

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must be pressured to stop the war, to vacate the cities and regions that it occupies, to allow the free movement of persons and goods, to demobilize its groups of armed men - which are illegal, because they constitute a violation of Angolan law - and to respect the Constitution and the democratic institutions of the Angolan State. Otherwise, peace and stability will remain an illusion, and the international community and its institutions are going to see their prestige undermined.

We are therefore of the opinion that the outright adoption by the international community of a set of restrictive measures against UNITA, effective immediately - that is, after the expiration of the established time - would help persuade UNITA to give up the language of war and the violence that it has been conducting throughout the country. Freezing the bank accounts UNITA uses to purchase military equipment; imposing restrictions on the free movement of UNITA-affiliated people across borders for reasons not connected with the peace talks; closing its offices in other countries and banning its use of propaganda facilities afforded by the media in United Nations Member States are measures that should be taken urgently as a contribution to restoring peace in Angola: sacred values, like human lives, are at stake, not to mention democracy and the survival of our nation.

It is pointless to mention the negative and dangerous consequences that UNITA and its allies may create not only for Angola but also for the rest of our region, southern Africa, where sensitive processes of political stabilization and transition to democracy are under way. These consequences are all the more evident - and are thwarting regional efforts for economic recovery - at a time when regional integration through the Southern African Development Coordination Conference and the preferential trade areas are

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gaining substantial momentum. We are convinced that while the crisis in Angola persists, southern Africa will continue to be a focus of tension, mainly because of the involvement of certain neighboring countries.

It is the responsibility of the Security Council to maintain peace and international security. Therefore, it is urgent that effective measures be taken to allow the legitimate Government of Angola to put down the rebellion; that is the only assurance that the people will be able to exercise their rights fully and share an environment of cooperation that will be open to all.

My Government continues to believe in a negotiated settlement as the only alternative to the Angolan conflict. However, I should like to make it clear that, although we reaffirm our adherence to all the principles to which we are committed, in the light of the challenge from UNITA the Angolan Government will resort to all means, including military means, to re-establish and enforce the law and to restore democratic rule. In this context, the Angolan Government would accept all assistance and international aid available and necessary under the Charter of the United Nations in order to defend Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to protect its peace and its people.

(spoke in English)

Finally, for reasons beyond my control I was a little late for this very important meeting. I should like to extend to you, Mr. President, and to all the members of the Security Council, my deep apologies.

The PRESIDENT: I assure the Minister of External Relations of Angola that his late arrival did not in any way upset the Council.

The next speaker is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHAMUYARIRA (Zimbabwe): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your vast experience and well-known diplomatic skills have already served the Council well this month, with its difficult and crowded agenda. Our congratulations also go to Ambassador Juan Antonio Yañez Barnuevo of Spain for his able stewardship of the Security Council during the month of June.

The events in Angola represent a human tragedy of major proportions, and one that could have been avoided and can still be brought under control. Decisive action by this Council in particular and the international community as a whole could isolate and defeat the dangerous ambitions of the one man who is bringing much suffering and death to his own people: Mr. Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA. The irresponsible and dangerous actions of this man were recounted by several delegations at the meeting of this Council on 1 June and at several other regional and international forums, and they were also recounted this morning by the Minister for External Relations of Angola, who has just finished speaking. I need not repeat them here.

But what does need to be stressed and given attention is the fact that the Council should go beyond the extension of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) to some more positive collective measures. We know that UNAVEM II failed to stop Jonas Savimbi; we know that it did not stop him from wrecking the peace process, and it has also failed to bring him back onto the peace track defined by the Bicesse Accords. What is now required is to take measures that will completely isolate the tyrant and deny him the means of continuing this fratricidal war, in which about a thousand Angolans are dying every day. In our view, the collective measures proposed in the draft resolution should be imposed forthwith, instead of being postponed to 15 September in the hope that some progress may have been made in

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the peace process. In this connection, my delegation agrees entirely with what the Minister for External Relations of Angola said.

In the view of my delegation, the time has come for initiating and implementing a comprehensive programme for what could be called UNAVEM III. The Council and the international community should take the initiative to create peace by adopting collective measures that will leave UNITA and Savimbi with no alternative but to return to the negotiating table on the basis of the Bicesse Peace Accords and also the Abidjan formulas. We should refuse to be manipulated by this one man and refuse to permit so much suffering and killing to continue in the name of seeking peace. He speaks peace, of course, but he is really planning and plotting for war and more war and more killing of his own people.

We in Africa are gravely concerned at the untenable situation in Angola. My colleagues and I from the region of southern Africa have come before the Council today on behalf of the front-line States, soon after the publication of the Cairo Declaration on Angola and other issues by the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

President Robert Gabriel Mugabe of Zimbabwe was charged at that meeting with the responsibility of seeking a solution to the Angolan crisis and bringing the legitimate Government of Angola, led by President José Edouardo dos Santos, and UNITA closer together. President Mugabe and the Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, are making last efforts to contact Mr. Savimbi and urge him to stop the war and accept the results of the September elections. That is the only established reality that we are prepared to recognize and work for. We are very pleased that the Government of the United States of America has now accepted this reality by recognizing the legitimate Government

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of Angola last May. In our view, any other reality created by force is both tyrannical and unacceptable; it cannot and should not be accepted by this Council.

The purpose of suggesting the implementation of what I called UNAVEM III is not to defeat anybody or any party, but really to speed up the resumption of meaningful dialogue between UNITA and the Government of Angola towards the implementation of the Peace Accords. We shall not condone or accept any situation in which one party seeks to achieve through the bullet what it failed to achieve through the ballot. We therefore call upon UNITA to cease all hostilities immediately and unconditionally and engage in substantive and serious negotiations with the Government of Angola with a view to putting the implementation of the Bicesse Accords back on track.

We are concerned that the involvement of many negotiators may actually retard progress and merely allow UNITA to buy time to continue a military offensive which entails more human suffering and killings. We would therefore urge that discussions continue to take place under the auspices only of the United Nations and the OAU.

While discussions are going on, humanitarian and international aid should be allowed to reach those persons and families in dire need of it. The way UNITA went back on the elections and the Peace Accords does not leave anyone with the comfortable feeling that it will be able to honour the commitment it has just made, and that it will in fact allow humanitarian aid into the areas it controls. Strict supervision, therefore, has to be organized and provided.

The human tragedy in Angola must be treated with great urgency and compassion. On the one hand, we have incidents like the deliberate and callous killing of up to 300 civilians travelling by train on 27 May 1993 in

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Huila Province. This was a heinous crime against humanity for which, in our view, Jonas Savimbi and his men must be held responsible. We are disappointed that a clause to this effect which appeared in the first draft of the agreed draft resolution does not appear in the final draft. We think it is a heinous crime which must be recorded - it has been recorded by the Secretary-General in his report - and we think those responsible must answer for it. The President of this Council himself described it, in a statement on the situation, as a crime against humanity, and I think the Council should record that and include it in the draft resolution.

On the other hand, we have frightening figures released by the United Nations itself which state that 3 million people have been displaced or are refugees in Angola today and that a thousand deaths occur every day as a direct result of the war or famine. Billions of dollars worth of property have been destroyed, and the infrastructure has also been largely destroyed in many parts of the country. UNITA even attacked the oil installations of Texaco - an American multinational company - in Soyo, seriously damaging the oil terminal there. At Kwanda base, a service centre for Soyo, oil operations were ransacked, and vital oil infrastructures were also destroyed. UNITA's occupation of Soyo is putting Angola in jeopardy of being deprived of at least 100,000 barrels of crude oil per day, worth about $1.8 million per day, or 20 per cent of Angola's overall oil production. An equal amount of money is being lost to the exchequer by UNITA's military control of diamond-mining areas, which are no longer being worked profitably. Clearly, UNITA has contributed to bringing the economy of Angola to a standstill.

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In this context, we welcome the decision taken at the Moscow meeting by the United States of America, the Russian Federation and Portugal to lift some of the restrictions originally imposed on the Angolan Government enabling it to procure a limited range of arms and to restrict the movement of UNITA personnel. The restrictions removed from the Government of Angola should now be imposed on UNITA, which is the sole source of violence and of the continuing fratricidal war. The international community must seek the re-establishment of the cease-fire, observe the "triple-zero" option, at least in so far as it affects UNITA, and insist on the principles of the Bicesse Accords.

The international community witnessed the open and democratic election of the Government of Angola last year. This matter was dealt with at length by the first speaker at today's meeting, the Foreign Minister of Angola. Since the election his Government has shown an exemplary willingness to cooperate with all parties concerned with a view to normalizing the situation in Angola. On the other hand, UNITA has been singularly subversive of the popular will of the Angolan people. It completely disregards their will and their views. Resort to violence, intimidation and wanton destruction of property will never be an acceptable substitute for the free expression of the will of the Angolan people as demonstrated in the election in September.

We commend the Government of Angola for the manner in which it has conducted itself in the face of the obstructive and uncooperative stance of UNITA. We would have thought that, following the painstaking, difficult process leading to the conclusion of the Bicesse Accords, Mr. Savimbi would have been more forthcoming and cooperative in seeing the peace process come to

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a fruitful end. The Government has been magnanimous in victory and has made gracious efforts to accommodate UNITA in its Administration. We commend those 10 UNITA Members of Parliament and the Members of Parliament from other minority parties who have taken their seats in the Parliament in Luanda, and who would now be contributing to the nation-building process were it not for the destructive war launched by the leadership of UNITA.

Unfortunately, all we have seen from UNITA in response has been an "all-or-nothing" attitude. Nevertheless, we hope that the Government of Angola will continue to show the high degree of patience and flexibility it has hitherto demonstrated, and we hope that, should UNITA become more responsible, the Government will extend its magnanimity and grace even further.

We were gratified to note that, by resolution 834 (1993) of 1 June this year, the Security Council, after undergoing what appeared to be a crisis of choice between retreat and increased involvement, resolved not to abandon the people of Angola to the tyranny and anarchy of civil war. And today the Security Council has before it a very powerful draft resolution which should send the strong message to the members and the leadership of UNITA that their actions have no support from this body. We are grateful for both the language and the substance of the draft resolution.

In this new era, the international community is morally and politically obliged to treat all situations of international concern equally, objectively and effectively. The suffering of men, women and children and the needless destruction of property are equally regrettable no matter what part of the globe they occur in. We are therefore gratified that today the Security

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Council is resolutely addressing the crisis in Angola and that the draft resolution before the Council seeks to take concrete steps to bring to an early end the trauma of the Angolan people.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe for the kind words he addressed to me.

I would point out that the reference in the draft resolution to which he attached great importance is contained in paragraph 18 of that text.

The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Namibia, His Excellency Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GURIRAB (Namibia): Let me first of all extend to you, Sir, my delegation's and my own warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am certain that with your diplomatic skills and political wisdom you will effectively guide the deliberations of the Council on this thorny question of Angola to a successful conclusion. I assure you of our support as you exercise the functions of your high office at this critical moment - critical particularly for the people of Angola. We also congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Yañez Barnuevo of Spain, on successfully guiding the affairs of the Council for the month of June.

It will come as no surprise when I say that I associate my delegation fully with the important statements just delivered by my two colleagues and brothers, the Foreign Ministers of Angola and Zimbabwe, particularly as regards their proposals for effective action by the Security Council.

(Mr. Gurirab, Namibia)

Allow me also to pay tribute to Miss Margaret Joan Anstee for the determined and courageous manner in which she performed her tasks as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola. Miss Anstee accomplished a difficult mission with honour and courage. She visited Namibia a little over a week ago and held useful discussions with President Nujoma and key members of his Government.

I should also, in this regard, like to congratulate my friend, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, former Foreign Minister of Mali and now the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The situation in Angola is becoming increasingly complicated daily; we are nevertheless confident that he is well qualified for the tasks before him. I hope that the meeting he has reportedly had with Mr. Savimbi was constructive.

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In a series of resolutions it has adopted since UNITA rejected the results of the September elections - resolutions 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992; 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992; 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993; 811 (1993) of 12 March 1993; and 834 (1993) of 1 June 1993 - this Council has repeatedly called upon UNITA to return to the Bicesse Peace Accords and to continue the implementation of the peace process, but to no avail. Mr. Jonas Savimbi has distinguished himself as the main - indeed, the only - obstacle to peace in Angola.

In its resolution 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, adopted immediately after the resumption of hostilities engineered by UNITA in Luanda and Huambo, the Council affirmed a well-known principle of international law that any party that failed to abide by all the commitments entered into under the Bicesse Peace Accords would be rejected by the international community. The Council further warned that gains derived from use of force would not be accepted.

But despite this, and almost 10 months later, UNITA continues to defy the solemn demands of this Council, the guardian of international peace and security. The time has come - it is indeed overdue - for UNITA to be given a clear and unequivocal message that it cannot hope to continue defying the will of the international community with impunity. The situation in Angola is taking an ominous direction.

Africa and the world at large cannot afford yet another Somalia, where power-hungry warlords, by use of arms, managed to hold the whole nation to ransom and in the process destroyed the entire fabric of civil society. Without the United Nations intervention, millions of Somalis would have continued to die. Starvation, death, devastation and total anarchy have become the hallmarks of Somalia. Angola should not be allowed to drift into a

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similar tragedy. The international community must stop Mr. Savimbi from pushing Angola further down the road of devastation and death.

The international community has witnessed in recent history men insatiable for power, wreaking havoc in their countries in search of absolute power. Cambodia and Uganda are vivid case studies of the 1970s in this regard. Regrettably, during that time the Security Council was paralysed by the politics of the cold war. Happily, today the Security Council is invigorated and the international community expects of it drastic action in the field of peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building. The Secretary-General, whose initiatives and personal devotion we commend most heartily, has been in the forefront of this new crusade.

Despite the difficult patch the United Nations Operation in Somalia is going through with one of the warlords, the arrival of international forces in Somalia turned despair into hope - indeed, Operation Restore Hope. How wonderful and touching it is to see these days children smiling and laughing again, in contrast with the earlier pictures of emaciated and dying children; to see women walking with dignity alongside their menfolk as they get down to the arduous tasks of reconstructing their country. Without the United Nations peace-keepers and various other international humanitarian workers, these joyous images would not have been possible in Somalia.

Namibia pays a tribute to all these good friends of Africa and valiant champions of liberty and justice who are helping us Africans to do for ourselves what we could not do alone. My country also wishes to place on record its sincere gratitude to the Government and the people of the United States of America for their having spearheaded the United Nations involvement in Somalia and for making available to this humanitarian rescue operation - Operation Restore Hope - the much-needed human and technical resources. The

(Mr. Gurirab, Namibia)

transformation of the situation which now offers hope would not have been possible without their bold action. Without the shared commitment, I must add, of all the members of the Security Council, this operation would not have been carried out. We thank them all.

At the same time, we cannot forget the fact that it was the persistent efforts and the often lonely voice of our illustrious Secretary-General that finally drew the international community's attention to the Somali crisis and thereby threw the media spotlight on that tragic situation.

The death and destruction going on in Angola must not become routine. As in Somalia before the massive United Nations intervention, the bleeding in Angola must be in the forefront of the priorities of the international community. In this respect, a word of thanks once again to the United States of America is in order for its having finally recognized the Government of Angola. We welcome this change of policy, and the establishment of full diplomatic relations with our good neighbour is a very good thing. This certainly augurs well for bringing Angola further into a brighter limelight of international attention and action. But it is not enough. Much remains to be done by each and every one of us.

In March this year, I visited Washington, D.C. for an exchange of views on Angola with the senior officials at the United States State Department and also with key senators and Congressmen. During the same visit, I held useful discussions at the United Nations with the Secretary-General, whose views were very helpful to me.

In further search of peace in our region, I brought together in Windhoek, on 4 June this year, my two neighbouring colleagues, the Foreign Ministers of Angola and South Africa, and we had a very successful discussion. The relations between the two countries have once again been placed on a sound

(Mr. Gurirab, Namibia)

footing and South Africa has reopened its diplomatic mission in Luanda. Foreign Minister Botha has accepted an invitation extended to him by his Angolan counterpart, Foreign Minister De Moura, to visit Angola.

At this juncture, I would like to emphasize the point that in this important debate the Security Council is called upon to demonstrate greater resolve and determination, in keeping with its own previous resolutions, to bring peace, to save lives, to stop the destruction of the economy, to stop hostilities and to assist the consolidation of democracy in Angola. To this end, the international community is thus duty-bound to give all the necessary assistance to the Angolan Government that it may defend democracy and the rule of law.

(Mr. Gurirab, Namibia)

The Council must send a clear message to UNITA to stop all hostilities and return to the peace process. In this connection, my delegation welcomes the draft resolution before the Council, for in our view it sends the right - and strong - message to Mr. Savimbi.

The Bicesse Peace Accords hinge on a cease-fire being restored. The events of October last, which were triggered by the defeat of UNITA at the polls, showed that UNITA had a second option - that of taking power by force of arms if it failed to achieve it through the ballot box. Until a cease-fire is signed, UNITA returns to the process of the Bicesse Peace Accords and a unified national army is formed, peace will continue to elude the Angolan people. It will be recalled that in January, the Council, in its resolution 804 (1993), strongly condemned the persistent violations of the main provisions of the Bicesse Peace Accords by UNITA, its withdrawal from the new Angolan armed forces, its seizure by force of provisional capitals and municipalities, and the resumption of hostilities.

We consider that the time has come for the Council to take strong and effective measures to deny UNITA its supply of arms and other war matériel. The recent Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) recommended in its Declaration on Angola that the Security Council impose sanctions and take concrete measures so as to force UNITA to accept dialogue as the only way to achieve peace. Equally, the recent World Conference on Human Rights, in its Declaration on Angola, adopted unanimously, urged the Council to take forceful and decisive steps in order to restore peace and security in Angola.

Again, the statement of the "Troika" - Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America - issued on 8 July 1993 in Moscow, urges the

(Mr. Gurirab, Namibia)

same course of action by the Council. UNITA must be made to understand that under the new global order the world community will not acquiesce in the use of force to subvert the will of the Angolan people, clearly manifested in free and fair elections. It remains an inescapable obligation for Mr. Savimbi to accept the results of the election of September 1992.

My participation in this debate, with my two colleagues, demonstrates the seriousness and concern with which we in the region view the conflict in Angola. We have come all the way to New York because Angola is an African problem and we greatly care, as neighbours, about the tragedy in that beloved sister Republic. The whole of the southern African region has had a devastating, long period of racist-inspired conflicts that were accentuated by the cold war. The region needs peace and stability to start its economic reconstruction. If anything, the region does not need any more weapons. It is saturated with arms. Indeed, it is time UNITA was made to turn its swords of destruction into ploughshares for reconstruction and development.

I must make it abundantly clear that Namibia wants to see peace and stability in Angola. We have nothing personal against Mr. Savimbi or UNITA as such. Obviously, Mr. Savimbi and UNITA have a role to play in the affairs of their country. There is no denying that UNITA won 70 seats in the National Assembly. Those Angolans who freely voted for those deputies are entitled to representation in the legislature without hindrance or blackmail. Cooperation and reconciliation on the basis of the offers made so far by the Government of National Unity appear to have opened a way for UNITA's participation at all levels of the State apparatus. Other outstanding issues relating to the Abidjan negotiation process, which are still a subject of consultations, should not prove to be insurmountable. What is, then, Mr. Savimbi's problem

(Mr. Gurirab, Namibia)

that he thinks only he and nobody else can understand? We in Namibia are trying very hard to understand him. I know others are doing the same.

Let me share with the Council the various high-level initiatives that we in the region have launched to assist in turning the situation of conflict into one of peace and regional cooperation.

My own President, Mr. Sam Nujoma, and his Cabinet Ministers, have on many occasions invited Mr. Savimbi to Namibia. If not in Namibia, we indicated to him our readiness to meet him anywhere else for a friendly dialogue. During his recent official visit to the United States, President Nujoma repeated this invitation in private discussions as well as through the media, but to date to no avail.

Here and now, in this Chamber, I repeat my Government's invitation to Mr. Savimbi to come to Windhoek for us together to attempt to find a way out of the conflict in Angola. But Namibians, we know, are not alone in this effort. As my colleague, the Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe indicated, various front-line State leaders and other influential African personalities have tried the same. President Mugabe, the Chairman of the front-line States, has spared no effort in his mission on behalf of his colleagues to meet with Mr. Savimbi. But he, too, has been unsuccessful so far in his laudable endeavours. President Chiluba of Zambia and my own President have held consultations on the problem on a number of occasions. Some of us have been meeting UNITA's representatives, but it seems that we are not being listened to. There is no evidence of any effort at reciprocity from Mr. Savimbi. In this context, the continuing efforts of African and non-African leaders cannot go unnoticed.

(Mr. Gurirab, Namibia)

The report of the Secretary-General (S/26060) for which we commend him, again gives a bleak picture of the suffering of the people of Angola. In paragraph 5, the Secretary-General expresses his deep concern about the catastrophic humanitarian situation now prevailing in Angola. And in paragraph 10 he informs the Council that almost 2 million people are now at risk and need food and other forms of aid to survive.

A disaster of momentous dimensions is unfolding in Angola. Allow me to illustrate the enormity of the situation by relating it to Namibia. The population of Angola at risk of starvation - 2 million - is more than the entire population of Namibia. About 1,000 people are said to be dying each day. How can Namibia not be concerned?

We endorse in this regard the strong appeal of the Secretary-General to all Angolans to abide by the rules of international humanitarian law and to facilitate unimpeded access for the delivery of relief aid to the population in need.

However, as I indicated earlier, men who are power-hungry see no limits in their desire to achieve power. I pointed out that we saw this in Somalia. Men who are power-hungry would be prepared to rule corpses. But there must be a will and capacity greater than their whims to stop them.

The international community should realize that the UNITA leadership is prepared to wait the United Nations out.

To link the extension of the mandate and enlargement of UNAVEM II to the restoration of the cease-fire is a question of the chicken and the egg, and in the process, more and more Angolans will be caught in a vicious circle. Therefore, Namibia calls for a sizeable and effective United Nations presence in Angola to encourage the cessation of hostilities.

(Mr. Gurirab, Namibia)

Finally, allow me to touch upon an issue that has not yet been considered fully or in any planned manner, namely, the reconstruction of Angola. The suffering, death and destruction Angola is undergoing at present will definitely come to an end and as neighbours, we in Namibia hope that end will come soon. Successive reports of the Secretary-General have revealed massive destruction of cities, economic infrastructures, mines, public utilities, hospitals and schools - in fact, every aspect of Angolan society. Indeed, the present report of the Secretary-General states that UNITA has besieged the cities of Cuito/Bie, Malange and Menongue, and the information we receive in Windhoek, the capital city of Namibia, is that Huambo, the second-largest city in Angola, is in ruins. With such massive destruction, Angola will need massive assistance to reconstruct. The international community should start to think of the reconstruction of Angola.

Namibia would, in this regard, urge the Security Council to request the Secretary-General to put together a plan for the reconstruction of Angola. A pledging conference for the reconstruction of Angola should be looked into. Such an economic scheme for the reconstruction of Angola will go a long way towards convincing those who are fighting today that there is a better future in peace. That would be a secure way to guarantee peace-building in Angola.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Namibia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): I should like to express my delegation's satisfaction at having with us the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Their presence here today bears witness to the high priority Africa ascribes to the solution of the conflict in Angola.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

The elections held in September last year in Angola under the supervision of the international community were thought to be the last act in a peace process that would finally bring peace and stability to that country.

The international community, and certainly my country, placed high hopes in those elections and expected them to put an end to decades of war and destruction and to give birth to a new Angola, one that would be based on a democratic system of government and would create a political environment conducive to social harmony and economic development of the country. Regrettably, the events that followed have created a painful obstacle to attaining that long-awaited goal.

What has happened since then is history, a history that has been written with the loss of life of thousands, with the further destruction of the cities and of much-needed economic infrastructures and with the immense suffering of the population as a result of the resumption of guerrilla warfare.

The efforts of the United Nations and others to broker a cease-fire and assist the parties involved in achieving an agreement that would facilitate resumption of the implementation of the Bicesse Peace Accords have not produced, to our deep regret, the expected results.

As the history of the armed conflict in Angola has shown, no military victory can bring lasting peace, stability and prosperity to the country. There is no alternative to negotiations if peace is to prevail.

Therefore, we encourage the United Nations to activate its mediating efforts, which we strongly support, in assisting the parties to reach a compromise that would put the peace process back on track.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

The Council has repeatedly appealed to the parties and demanded that they reach agreement. On occasion, statements made by those involved have been forthcoming and raised hopes. In reality, however, the answer to these appeals has been translated into more violence, destruction and the further occupation of cities and municipalities.

Very patiently, the Security Council has been periodically extending the mandate of UNAVEM with the expectation each time that reason would finally prevail and agreement would finally be reached. This goal has still to be met. Today, we are once again called to consider extending UNAVEM's mandate for another two-month period. We sincerely hope that these two months will be put to good use and that agreement will finally be reached to facilitate the completion of the peace process.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

Collective frustration on the part of the Council with the repeated lack of progress in the negotiations between the two parties seems to have set in, as reflected in the draft resolution before us, and the patience of the international community is running out. An agreement to facilitate the completion of the peace process is now past due. We sincerely hope that a serious and final effort will be made, in the next two months, to achieve progress in the negotiations between the two parties.

My Government is very much concerned by the humanitarian situation prevailing in Angola. Thousands of Cape Verdeans living in Angola have been enduring, side-by-side with their Angolan brothers, the hardship of the war situation. We believe that, taking into account the scale of the humanitarian situation - which is worse than many other similar situations elsewhere, as is documented in various reports of the Secretary-General - more efforts should be made to alleviate the suffering of the population.

It has been stated that 1,000 people are dying every day as a result of the conflict in Angola; this is too high a price, too high a figure, a figure of tragic proportions. In this regard, we ask the Secretary-General to consider the possibility, as soon as possible, of increasing the ways and means of strengthening the United Nations humanitarian role in Angola and the effectiveness of the humanitarian corridors; we also ask him to consider the feasibility of strengthening UNAVEM's personnel for this purpose.

All parties to the conflict should bear in mind that international humanitarian law recognizes the right of those in need to access to humanitarian assistance and should therefore refrain from taking any action that impedes that access and should cooperate fully with UNAVEM in its discharge of its humanitarian role.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

My Government is also extremely concerned by the difficulties being encountered by foreign nationals and their family members in leaving Huambo and other areas. We are thankful for those few of our citizens that have been allowed to leave Huambo. We hope that those that were left behind will soon be able to leave these areas, as they have expressed their wish to do, and that every cooperation will be extended to the International Committee of the Red Cross towards that end.

I wish to pay a tribute to Miss Margaret Anstee, the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Angola, for her dedication and commitment to the cause of peace in Angola. Her personal efforts in moments of crisis were pivotal in preventing further deterioration of the situation. Miss Anstee's performance in Angola has been an example of selfless dedication to the pursuit of the United Nations international role. I admire her tremendous courage; I wish her well in her personal life and future professional endeavours.

I should also like to express my delegation's satisfaction at the appointment of Mr. Beye as the Secretary-General's new Special Representative. We welcome him, pledge our full cooperation, and wish him success in his important and difficult tasks.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The Government of Brazil finds it disturbing that the situation in Angola is continuing to deteriorate, and that the hostilities in that country are continuing to take a heavy toll in human lives. It is a matter of grave concern to us that previous Security Council resolutions have not yet been implemented, in spite of the earnest efforts deployed by the Government of Angola to seek a peaceful solution to the crisis.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Brazil shares with its neighbour across the South Atlantic common historical and cultural roots, as well as common aspirations for economic and social development and common democratic values. The remarks made moments ago by the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venancio De Moura, whose presence here we warmly welcome, described eloquently, and in our common language, an extraordinarily serious situation that cannot but cause the deepest apprehension on the part of the Security Council. I was especially touched by the reference made by Mr. De Moura to Sergeant Adilson Barbosa da Costa, whose untimely death we continue to mourn.

I also listened very attentively to the highly important statements made by the Foreign Ministers of Zimbabwe and Namibia, as well as by our colleague the representative of Cape Verde.

The report submitted by the Secretary-General reflects the unspeakable human tragedy being experienced day by day by the people of Angola. Millions of Angolans are having to face the dire consequences of senseless violence; millions of Angolans are in desperate need of a much greater degree of international solidarity. Having long suffered the horrors of armed conflict, the people of Angola deserve a chance for lasting peace and national reconciliation. The suffering of the civilian population, even if it is not highly publicized by the international media, has reached proportions that are completely unacceptable by any standards.

My delegation strongly supports the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General to set in motion the United Nations humanitarian programme for Angola. We are disturbed by the information that the refusal by UNITA to allow humanitarian access to certain areas has led to a suspension of the programme's implementation. We are concerned about reports received today

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

about new obstacles impeding the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people.

The Brazilian Government is convinced that it is the duty of the international community to take decisive action to put an end to the conflict in Angola. No stone should be left unturned in exploring opportunities for a negotiated solution to that conflict.

A most important and significant contribution to our deliberations was the declaration and resolution adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at its recent summit meeting in Cairo. It is particularly important that the Security Council should take due account of the OAU's views, which carry the strength and the authority of a clearly stated regional consensus on this very difficult question.

May I express our appreciation for the efforts of the Governments of Portugal, Russia and the United States as observers of the Angolan peace process. The joint communiqué issued by the representatives of those States in Moscow on 8 July contains elements that we deem important for achieving a solution to the conflict.

I wish to express our support for the efforts being made by the Secretary-General and by his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, with a view to promoting an early resumption of peace talks aimed at bringing about a cease-fire and full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz".

We should also like to place on record our recognition of the work carried out, under extremely difficult circumstances, by Miss Margaret Anstee as Special Representative. She deserves our gratitude for her untiring and valiant efforts to bring peace to Angola.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Conditions already exist in Angola for bringing the fraticidal conflict to an end. There is an agreed framework for a peaceful and democratic process of national reconciliation, which is set out in the "Acordos de Paz". There is, moreover, a democratic process under way which, were it not for the resumption of hostilities by UNITA, would have allowed the country to dedicate its talents to economic growth and development rather than military action. As pointed out in the draft resolution before the Council, the Government of Angola has given proof of a continued disposition to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict. There is, above all, a strong desire for peace and democracy in the hearts and minds of the people of Angola. The international community now seems prepared to express a stronger commitment to support the efforts of the Government of Angola to promote democracy and ensure the implementation of the Peace Accords.

Given those propitious conditions, the only important element that is lacking for the peace process in Angola to be reinstated is the political will on the part of UNITA to comply with the decisions of the Security Council, particularly by withdrawing from the territories it has unlawfully occupied, by accepting the results of the democratic elections in 1992 - recognised as free and fair by the United Nations - and by resuming talks to re-establish a cease-fire and achieve the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz".

In that light, it is altogether fitting that the Security Council should - as it will with the adoption of the draft resolution, which we strongly support - send a clear, unambiguous message to UNITA. That message is, we believe, twofold. It conveys the notion that the United Nations cannot allow the use of force to be rewarded and that the Security Council is ready to take the measures that may be necessary to prevent UNITA from pursuing its

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

military actions and to promote the goals of peace, democracy and national reconciliation in Angola. But, above all, it indicates that the door is open for UNITA to play a constructive role in the national efforts towards peace and to work within the framework of legitimacy, democratic participation and respect for human rights, in the context of the application of the Peace Accords.

Brazil supports these ideas, in the hope that the stringent measures which the Council is empowered to take under the United Nations Charter will not have to be applied and that the Council will very soon be in a position to welcome the fact that the cease-fire has been established and that an agreement has been reached for the full implementation of the Peace Accords and Security Council resolutions.

It is our sincere hope that that message will be understood. The text of the draft resolution, especially in paragraphs 11 and 12, makes it clear that it is the objective of the Security Council, in taking this decision, to preserve the peace process, a process with which UNITA's military campaign is manifestly not compatible. It is incumbent on all States to act in conformity with the object and purpose of this decision of the Security Council.

In accordance with resolution 834 (1993) and paragraph 11 of the draft resolution to be adopted today, it is, in particular, incumbent on all States to refrain from providing to UNITA any form of direct or indirect military assistance or any other support inconsistent with the peace process. That also means that States are expected to prevent their territory from being utilized for providing any such assistance or support. Brazil attaches great importance to the implementation of all Security Council resolutions.

We are hopeful that the actions taken by this Council will soon produce the desired results and will reverse the deterioration of the situation in

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Angola, at the political and humanitarian levels. The activities and presence of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) continue to be an essential factor of stabilility in the unstable Angolan situation. UNAVEM II plays a crucial role in promoting a peaceful settlement of the conflict and the delivery of humanitarian assistance. It must be ready to resume and even enhance its role in the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" as soon as the cease-fire is re-established. The renewal of UNAVEM II's mandate is necessary, and it is appropriate for the Security Council to be prepared to bring it up to its original strength.

It will be essential that the United Nations carry on with its commitment to peace and democracy in Angola. To that end, we favour the notion that, as soon as circumstances allow, the United Nations presence in Angola should be substantially expanded, as may be required, to support the implementation of the peace process.

The efforts we are engaged in are of the utmost urgency and they will now enter a critical phase. The grave situation in Angola cannot be neglected by the international community and must be kept under close scrutiny by the Security Council. In this connection, we welcome this debate, which serves to highlight the seriousness of the Angolan situation; but also, by highlighting the determination of the international community, it sends out a ray of hope to all those who work for a peaceful, democratic and prosperous future for the people of Angola.

Mr. PEDAUYE (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like first to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the effectivenss and diligence with which you are leading us in our work. We are convinced that your outstanding personal qualities and long diplomatic experience, along with the constant support your excellent delegation provides you, will allow you to

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

carry out successfully your functions as President of the Security Council during the month of July.

I should also like to express the satisfaction of the Spanish delegation at the participation in this debate of the Minister for External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venancio De Moura, whose statement in Portuguese we listened to attentively and of which we have taken note.

We are also pleased by the decision of the Foreign Ministers of Namibia, Zambia and Zimbwabe to contribute to the debate, thus making clear the importance their countries and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) attach to the question of Angola.

My delegation has studied with care and concern the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II). On the occasion of the adoption of resolution 834 (1993) on 1 June Spain expressed the firm hope that there would be substantial progress on the road to peace in Angola. Unfortunately, over the past month and a half this hope has been thwarted by the intransigence of one of the parties.

In fact, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, UNITA's continued efforts to acquire territory by military means have cast serious doubt on its declarations regarding its peaceful intentions. In resolutions 804 (1993), 811 (1993) and 834 (1993), this Council strongly condemned UNITA's rejection of the election results, its failure to participate in the political institutions established on the basis of the elections, its withdrawal from the new Angolan armed forces, its forcible seizure of provincial capitals and municipalities and, finally, its resumption of hostilities.

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

We fully agree with the Secretary-General's analysis of the disastrous situation besetting Angola: one of civil war. That situation has grown worse since the suspension on 21 May 1993 of the Abidjan peace talks. Again, the responsibility for that suspension lies with UNITA. In the present circumstances, failure to achieve positive results in those talks could undermine the negotiating attempts of the United Nations and of the three observer countries: Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States. Nor does the suspension of the emergency humanitarian-assistance plan contribute to a propitious climate; rather, it increases the suffering of a civilian population already oppressed by the devastation of the country.

Despite all this, my delegation believes that the international community and the United Nations cannot abandon Angola. At stake in Angola is the survival of an entire population which now faces a catastrophic situation and the daily horrors of civil war. As the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has indicated, and as previous speakers have already noted, around 1,000 Angolans die each day as a result of the conflict, and some 2 million people are at risk and need help to survive.

Also at stake is the stability of the region. The echos of what happens in Angola have serious implications for neighbouring countries, which are now taking in large numbers of Angolan refugees and which have expressed a growing concern at the fact that the armed struggle is approaching their borders.

Finally, and of great importance, at stake in Angola is the credibility of the United Nations and of the Security Council. We cannot allow the Council's resolutions to be repeatedly and systematically disregarded. We

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

must place a limit on impunity. We cannot stand idly by, allowing the results of free elections to be ignored and allowing agreements freely arrived at to be violated with impunity by one of the parties to the conflict.

I wish to stress that the Spanish authorities fully recognize the admirable work carried out, with great sacrifice and great dedication, by the former Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Anstee, in the quest for a lasting solution to this tragic conflict. We are convinced that the new Special Representative, Mr. Alioun Blondin Beye, will give renewed impetus to the work of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) through the crucial period that will begin with the adoption of the draft resolution before us.

Spain welcomes the decision by the three observer countries in the Angolan peace process to take an important step forward. Specifically, we view as vitally important the joint statement issued at Moscow on 8 July 1993, setting out the guidelines for resolving the crisis in Angola and recognizing the right of the Government of Angola to defend itself and to exercise its other legitimate rights.

The draft resolution before the Council, in the negotiations towards which my delgation played an active part, welcomes the Moscow statement. It recognizes the legitimate rights of the Government of Angola and welcomes the provision by States of assistance to the Government of Angola in support of the democratic process.

We are encouraged to note that the spirit of the joint statement has been duly reflected in the draft resolution before us. That draft resolution, on which we shall soon take action and which has Spain's full support, is a text

(Mr. Pedauye, Spain)

of major political scope. By this text the Security Council would decide to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II for a period of two months. Moreover, and of very special relevance, the draft resolution lays the foundation for future action by the Security Council in the event that after a reasonable period of time the parties do not resume the peace process under the auspices of the United Nations, with a view to full compliance with the "Acordos de Paz".

Thus, this draft resolution represents a qualitative step forward. UNITA should take it seriously and consider all its implications. The draft resolution will send the clear message to UNITA that if it does not change its attitude the Security Council is prepared to consider the adoption of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, including the imposition of a military embargo. In sum, this draft resolution contains a clear, firm message, and we welcome it.

Spain trusts that in the period now beginning UNAVEM II will be able to achieve its objectives and bring the parties closer together in the search for a lasting solution to the conflict. My country will closely follow developments in the hope that we will soon see a restoration of the cease-fire, a resumption of the peace process and the unhampered flow of humanitarian assistance. My country is prepared to do all in its power in support of the peace process and to ensure that the international community and the Security Council neither abandon nor forget Angola.

In conclusion, let me again extend a most cordial and warm greeting to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola, who is worthily and legitimately representing the Government and the people of Angola before this Council.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Egypt, who wishes to make a statement on behalf of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. HASSAN (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish at the outset to congratulate you most sincerely, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. I should like also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Yañez Barnuevo, Permanent Representative of Spain, for the able manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

As current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Egypt is pleased to participate in the current stage of the Security Council's deliberations on a very important African issue: the question of peace in Angola. We hope that the international community's joint efforts to bring peace to Angola will bear fruit and that the world will show its solidarity with the people of Angola in their quest for peace.

(Mrs. Hassan, Egypt)

The series of tragic developments in Angola, as graphically described today by the Foreign Minister of Angola, to whom we listened very closely, clearly demonstrates the extremely grave political and military deterioration of the situation as a result of unabated hostilities and the growing mistrust hampering the achievement of any viable political reconciliation. Sadly, they also set the stage for further and more dire consequences that threaten the security and peace of the region. This has been confirmed by the Foreign Ministers of the front-line States in their important statements today.

When the Government of Angola and UNITA signed the Bicesse Accords in May 1991, the entire world, and Africa in particular, breathed a sigh of relief and welcomed that event, which augured well for the restoration of peace and the establishment of democracy and national reconciliation sought by the people of Angola since that country gained its independence in 1975. The people of Angola enthusiastically expressed its adherence to these noble goals through its participation in the legislative and presidential elections. The results of those elections were endorsed by the OAU and the international community as free and fair. Disappointed by the electoral verdict, UNITA tried to seize power by force, launching a series of attacks by which it made territorial and strategic gains. It staged subversive actions against the internationally recognized system and democratically elected institutions.

On the other hand, the Government of Angola emphasized the importance of achieving peace and stability for the people of Angola and welcomed the participation of all political points of view, including that of UNITA, in a bid to put together a Government of national reconcilition. It also urged UNITA, with the international community's support, to respect the rule of international law. Unfortunately, UNITA obstinately disregarded such calls.

(Mrs. Hassan, Egypt)

Against this backdrop, there has been a series of diplomatic initiatives to contain the Angolan crisis within the African continent. Thus, the meeting held in Namib and those in Addis Ababa and Abidjan ran parallel to the initiatives of the international community as reflected in the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General and his former Special Representative for Angola. The crisis was brought before the Security Council, which adopted a series of important resolutions that formed a solid foundation for the resolution of the crisis.

The draft resolution before the Security Council today is perhaps the most significant of those, and we fully endorse it. We hope that it will help the whole Angolan situation to move forward. It constitutes a strong message to UNITA from the international community, in which it condemns UNITA's violations and warns of serious consequences in an effort to force UNITA to return to peace negotiations.

My delegation would like to take this opportunity to underscore the efforts made within the framework of discussions on Angola at the summit meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which Egypt had the honour to host from 28 to 30 June. The African leaders who met in Cairo dedicated sincere and considerable efforts to the discussion of this issue. Their Assembly issued a Declaration on the situation in Angola which laid the foundations for a solution to the crisis and reflected the continent's sincere desire to see peace and stability restored to that brotherly country so that Angola might channel all its energies into raising the standard of living of its people and achieve development within a democratic framework.

(Mrs. Hassan, Egypt)

The OAU summit Declaration included a number of points, the most important of which are the African leaders' strong commitment to the preservation of Angola's unity and territorial integrity, and their strong condemnation of UNITA for its repeated massacres of civilian populations and destruction of social infrastructures. They praised the Angolan Government for its continued readiness to maintain dialogue with UNITA, as well as for its goodwill demonstrated in the search for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. On the other hand, they condemned UNITA for rejecting the results of the September 1992 elections and called on it to accept the Peace Accords. They called on the Governments of Angola's neighbouring countries not to allow the use of their territories and space as a springboard or headquarters to support any action against the Angolan Government.

The Declaration refers to the initiatives to achieve a peaceful solution of the crisis and in that regard commends the tireless efforts of President Houphouet Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire and encourages him to continue exerting all his influence on UNITA so as to induce Mr. Savimbi to accept the Peace Accords. It also supports the international efforts initiated outside the continent, especially those made by the Troika observers to monitor the implementation of the Bicesse Peace Accords in Angola. It expresses its satisfaction with the recognition of the Angolan Government by the new American Administration and encourages it to proceed with its efforts to contribute concretely to the resolution of the crisis.

The Declaration also recommends that the Security Council take concrete measures against UNITA, most importantly with the imposition of sanctions but including closure of the offices of UNITA's representatives abroad so as to force it to accept dialogue as the only way of achieving peace. In addition to addressing political questions, the Declaration expressed deep concern at

(Mrs. Hassan, Egypt)

the deteriorating humanitarian situation and called on the OAU member States and the international community to provide humanitarian aid in order to mitigate the sufferings of the people of Angola.

African leaders and the international community have expressed their views on the critical situation in Angola. Those views have been consistent in their analyses of the root causes of the crisis and in the remedies they prescribe. The Cairo Declaration, in both thrust and substance, was consistent with the joint statement issued in Moscow on 8 July by Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America, the official observers of the implementation of the Angolan Peace Accords. In turn, those two documents are in consonance with the guidelines contained in the Special Declaration on Angola issued by the World Conference on Human Rights recently held in Vienna. The broad global concern over Angola and the international consensus in this regard place on the Security Council special responsibilities for taking decisive measures to force UNITA to respect the international position.

(Mrs. Hassan, Egypt)

The situation is very clear. There have been free and fair elections, the results of which UNITA must accept without reservation. There is also a framework for peace, and Peace Accords signed by the two parties, which must be complied with. There is an urgent need for a cease-fire throughout the country, to be accompanied by the immediate resumption of negotiations to enforce that cease-fire.

There is also an ongoing human tragedy to be added to the long list of sufferings that have plagued the Angolan people. This must be addressed, especially since, as indicated by the Secretary-General in his report, almost 2 million people are now at risk and need food and non-food aid to survive. The State infrastructure has been devastated by war, requiring expansion of the scope of the technical and economic assistance provided by the international community in order to reconstruct the country.

My delegation would like to underscore the role of the United Nations at this critical stage in Angola. We express full support for extending the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) and reinforcing its personnel, because it is a major factor for stability there.

We also fully appreciate Miss Anstee's efforts and welcome the decision of the Secretary-General to appoint Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali, as his Special Representative for Angola. This decision has been welcomed at the African level. The new Special Representative enjoys an impressive, honourable record in the service of African concerns, and we trust that he will rise to this difficult challenge. We emphasize that Egypt, as current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), will be pleased to cooperate and coordinate fully in order to help him fulfil his mandate. We also emphasize the importance of continuing

(Mrs. Hassan, Egypt)

coordination and consultation between the United Nations and the OAU in regard to all steps taken towards resolving the Angolan problem, with a view to bringing about stability and creating an environment conducive to the initiation of development efforts.

Reconstruction and repairing damage resulting from uninterrupted civil strife in Angola require the mobilization of all possible human and material resources in order to expedite the building of a modern State that will eventually fulfil its mission within Africa and the international community.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Egypt for her kind words addressed to me. In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend, with the concurrence of members of the Council, to suspend the meeting now until 3.15 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.45 p.m. and resumed at 3.25 p.m.

The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/26080, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The next speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MUSUKA (Zambia): I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. You are a distinguished representative of a country, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, whose contribution to the promotion and preservation and international peace and security is well known. Indeed, your country's active role in the United Nations peace-keeping operations attests to this invaluable commitment. We are thus assured that under your able leadership the Council's consideration of the situation in Angola and the role of the United Nations in the peace process of that country will be constructive and serve to enhance the prospects of peace through reconciliation and agreements by the parties concerned. Similarly, I wish to congratulate your predecessor, the Ambassador of Spain, for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Security Council during the month of June.

My delegation's participation in this important debate has been greatly facilitated by the Ministers of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and the representative of Egypt, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), who have spoken before me.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

In particular, I should mention Mr. Venancio De Moura, the Minister for External Relations of the Republic of Angola, who highlighted recent developments in the Angolan political, military and humanitarian situation. The prevailing situation in Angola has, as the Secretary-General noted in his lucid and comprehensive report,

"continued to deteriorate dangerously". (S/26060, para. 3)

Fighting has intensified, mutual mistrust has deepened, and prospects for reconciliation have receded. This grim scenario and assessment were shared by those attending the recent Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Cairo last month, as well as by the representatives of Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States, the three official observers for the implementation of the Bicesse Peace Accords for Angola, who met in Moscow on 8 July.

The consequences of the prevailing sad situation in Angola remain tragic for the country and the neighbouring States, including my own country, Zambia. In particular, the indiscriminate and widespread loss of human life and the wanton destruction of property in Angola are constant, grim reminders of the worsening situation in that country. This situation has, in turn, had negative consequences for neighbouring countries through increased influxes of refugees and insecurity along the borders.

Clearly, this situation is a source of great concern to the Angolan people, the neighbouring countries and the international community. It therefore demands definitive measures by the Council, including the measures envisaged in the draft resolution before it.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

My delegation shares the serious concerns expressed by the recent Summit Meeting of the OAU, the Moscow "Troika" session and the Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council, regarding the lack of genuine commitment to the Peace Accords on the part of UNITA. In this regard, the OAU Summit Meeting called on UNITA to resume, as soon as possible, the peace process with the Government in order to establish a definitive cease-fire and ensure full implementation of the Peace Accords. The "Troika" session held in Moscow called, inter alia, for UNITA's immediate cessation of hostilities and its adherence to the key principles of the Peace Accords. The Secretary-General has also noted that

> "Repeated efforts by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to seize additional territory have called into serious question its declarations about peaceful intentions." (ibid, para. 4)

and that

> "Policies of capturing territories and military strategy are incompatible with these goals" (ibid., para. 17)

the goals of peace through reconciliation and agreements.

My delegation greatly appreciates the efforts being made by the Security Council to address the Angolan situation. However, the situation remains critical and constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. It therefore warrants the Council's continued vigilance.

In this regard, my delegation strongly commends the tireless efforts to advance the peace process in Angola. We welcome and support the Secretary-General's recommendation to the Council that it should extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) for a period of three months to allow the United Nations vigorously to pursue a peace agreement.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

My delegation is confident that the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Beye, whose appointment we warmly welcome, will assist the parties to build on the progress made in Abidjan to achieve peace in Angola.

My delegation also wishes to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to Miss Margaret J. Anstee for her dedication and the competent services she rendered as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola.

The personnel of UNAVEM II also deserve our sincere appreciation for their commitment and courage and their dedication to advancing the peace process in Angola.

The Council's commendable efforts to resolve the Angolan situation should be strongly supported by the provision of substantial international humanitarian assistance for relief, reconstruction and the resettlement of refugees. In this regard, my delegation commends the efforts being made by United Nations organs as well as by local and international non-governmental organizations.

However, more needs to be done to meet the requirements of humanitarian assistance. In particular, it is my delegation's sincere hope that the United Nations Consolidated Appeal for Angola will attract more generous contributions.

To facilitate unimpeded access for the delivery of humanitarian and relief assistance, my delegation strongly supports the appeal by the Secretary-General to the Angolans - and in particular UNITA - to abide by the applicable rules of international humanitarian law.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

It is evident that responsibility for a peaceful and lasting solution to the Angolan situation rests, primarily, on the Angolans themselves. The solution will depend on the creation of a climate conducive to mutual trust and on a genuine commitment to peace on the part of UNITA. There is also a strong need for respect for democratic principles and processes, as well as respect for the unconditional acceptance of election results. Democracy is not about winning elections; democracy is also about losing elections. UNITA must be able to adhere to this.

(Mr. Musuka, Zambia)

At the same time, it is the solemn duty of the international community to assist and facilitate the efforts of the Angolan people. In this regard, we warmly welcome the recognition of the Government of Angola on 19 May 1993 by the United States and the inauguration of its Embassy in Luanda on 22 June 1993.

The people of Angola need the peace which has eluded them for so long and which is indispensable for their development and progress.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zambia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): I am grateful for the opportunity to address the Security Council. I should like to begin by extending to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of July. We are confident that under your able leadership, which we have already seen over the last two weeks, the Council will succeed in discharging the heavy responsibilities for international peace and security entrusted to it. At the same time, I should like to join in the expressions of appreciation extended to Ambassador Juan Antonio Yañez Barnuevo of Spain for the excellent leadership he provided the Council during the month of June.

For over 30 years the people of Angola have known no peace. For over 10 years they fought a bitter anti-colonial war. Independence in 1975 was followed by a cruel and destructive civil war, resulting in hundreds of thousands of dead, many more maimed for life, massive numbers of refugees and internally displaced people and massive destruction of the country. That is

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

why the whole world welcomed with great relief and hope the Bicesse Accords as offering the people of Angola an opportunity for much-needed peace and security. Unfortunately, the Security Council is meeting today, for the second time in six weeks, because the Bicesse Accords are in shreds.

The current report (S/26060) of the Secretary-General, just like the May report (S/25840), makes very depressing reading. It reveals a deteriorating political and military situation. In the view of the Secretary-General the situation

> "has continued to deteriorate dangerously as fighting has intensified and as the mistrust which has inhibited meaningful political accommodation has deepened". (S/26060, para.3)

Who is responsible for this deterioration is also clear from paragraph 4 of the report, which refers to UNITA's repeated efforts to capture additional territory, its siege of several provincial capitals, its attack on Caxito and its seizure of the mineral-producing towns of Soyo and Cafunfo in an obvious effort to paralyse the economy and further destabilize the country. The Secretary-General is right in concluding that these efforts and acts call into serious question UNITA's declaration about peaceful intentions.

What comes out very clearly from both reports is that it is UNITA, and especially its leader, Savimbi, that has posed problems for the negotiation effort at every stage. UNITA agreed to the Addis Ababa talks of 27 to 30 January 1993 after strenuous efforts and a great deal of pressure had been brought to bear on the organization. It was UNITA's unacceptable demands at the talks which prevented the reaching of agreement on a cease-fire. The second Addis Ababa meeting, scheduled first for 10 February and then for 26 February 1993, failed to take place because UNITA advanced all sorts of

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

reasons which the whole world knew to be unacceptable excuses. When it ran out of further excuses, UNITA sought the indefinite postponement of the second Addis Ababa meeting. Rightly, the Secretary-General's previous Special Representative found the request unacceptable.

The May report reveals that UNITA's behaviour was the same during the Abidjan talks, which also collapsed in total failure on 21 May after six weeks of painstaking negotiations. While the Government of Angola was able to accommodate UNITA at every stage of the negotiations, UNITA made fresh demands at every stage. In the end, Mr. Savimbi vetoed the Abidjan Protocol by going back on an area already agreed upon by his delegation in the negotiations on the Memorandum of Understanding.

While UNITA has been buying time at the negotiating table, in the country it has been spreading death and destruction. According to the Secretary-General's May report and other sources, UNITA then controlled about 75 per cent of the country. The recent escalation clearly points to a strategy to overrun the whole country. In consequence, the suffering of the people from the combined effects of the war and the drought - as evidenced by the destruction of the country's infrastructure, its agriculture and its marketing and distribution networks - has also escalated. The figure of 2 million Angolans suffering from the effects of the war, mainly hunger and disease, revealed in the two reports, should provoke the anger and outrage of the international community. This is almost a quarter of the population of Angola and is a measure of the amount of suffering Savimbi has imposed on the people of Angola. As virtually all previous speakers have observed, an even more graphic statistic in the May report is the estimated 1,000 Angolans dying

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

daily from the consequences of a war which was estimated at the time to have claimed over 400,000 lives.

My delegation pays tribute to the Secretary-General, his staff and the United Nations system for their tireless efforts to mobilize humanitarian assistance for the victims of the tragic conflict. We are appalled by the callousness that UNITA continues to show towards the suffering of the Angolan people by reneging on its commitments to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The Security Council must show Savimbi and UNITA that they cannot continue to disregard their obligations under international humanitarian law and expect to get away with it.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

The question must be asked: For how long will the international community continue to accept the suffering of the Angolan people as the inevitable outcome of an internal conflict? An even more relevant question is: For how long is the international community going to continue to treat Savimbi and UNITA as spoilt children who are entitled to get everything they ask for?

The painful and troubled history of the Angolan conflict is well known to the members of the Council, so it is not necessary for anyone to use the Council's time to recount it. We are concerned here with the present phase of the conflict, which has its roots in the refusal by Savimbi and UNITA to accept and respect the results of the September 1992 elections, which the United Nations and many other observers certified as free and fair. The strategy of the international community - of using persuasion and dialogue to secure compliance with the decisions of the Security Council - quite clearly prompted by its desire to promote a peaceful settlement, appears to have been abused by Savimbi and UNITA at every stage. They believed that they could flout the will of the international community and get away with it. UNITA cheated on its obligation under the Bicesse Accords to demobilize its troops and confine them to designated areas. That this happened under the gaze of the international community is much to be regretted.

The ease with which UNITA got away with such a serious violation of the Accords encouraged it to persist in its intransigence and prevarication. Thus, it did not heed the call for its troops to rejoin the integrated army and other joint structures. It got away with dragging its feet on the way to the first meeting in Addis Ababa and with its refusal to go to the second

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meeting in Addis Ababa. In Abidjan it secured concession after concession, yet it got away with causing the collapse of the talks. One thing is very clear from the Secretary General's reports: UNITA has not been negotiating in good faith. There is no question but that, all along, UNITA's strategy has been one of buying time by stringing the international community along.

All along, the international community and the Angolan Government have bent over backwards in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the tragic conflict. They have not merely exerted their best endeavours, but in the interest of peace they have also been willing to grant UNITA more concessions than it deserves. That is the inescapable conclusion one reaches from a close study of the portion of the May report that states:

> "The fundamental concept on which the negotiations were based, and which flowed from the earlier attempts at negotiating a settlement, was that the Government would show political flexibility, facilitating a much larger role for UNITA in government structures in return for military withdrawals by UNITA." (S/25840, para. 14)

In plain language, this means that in the interest of peace the world community has been willing to exert pressure on the Government of Angola to concede more to UNITA than is warranted by its support from the people of Angola as demonstrated by the results of the United Nations-supervised elections. What more can one ask the Angolan Government and the United Nations to do to convince UNITA that no sacrifice has been too high for peace in Angola?

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

We are where we are in Angola because one party has been negotiating in good faith while the other has been pursuing a double agenda. As I have already stated, all this has been happening under the gaze of the international community. Because it played by the rules umpired by the international community, the Government of Angola now finds itself under intolerable pressure, at the negotiating table and on the battlefield.

Now that it is clear that the world community has been too trusting about UNITA's declarations of peaceful intentions - and no one could have said it more eloquently than the Secretary General did in paragraph 4 of the report before the Council in document S/26060 - the international community owes it to itself and to the long-suffering people of Angola to take prompt and effective action now to halt and reverse the situation. The three observer States to the Angolan peace effort bear a particular responsibility for ensuring compliance with the Bicesse Accords and subsequent measures to implement those agreements. They more than anyone else encouraged the Angolan Government to play by the rules, and the Government of Angola put its trust and faith in their good intentions. It is now for them to reverse the situation by ensuring that, this time, Savimbi and UNITA do not get away with their duplicity. We look to them also to lead the international community in providing all necessary assistance to the Government of Angola to enable it to defend the people of Angola and to safeguard the unity and territorial integrity of its country.

The most hopeful development in the Angolan conflict since the resumption of hostilities has been the action taken by the United States Government to

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recognize the Government of Angola and to establish diplomatic relations with it. We applaud that decision because it sends a very clear signal to Savimbi and UNITA that no civilized member of the international community will continue to tolerate their attempts to win by the bullet what they failed to win in a free and fair ballot. We are confident that the United States will now be able to play a more effective role as an impartial observer in the peace process. We urge the Security Council to use the momentum created by the action of the United States to initiate appropriate measures to prevent Savimbi and UNITA from persisting in their intransigence, which has denied the people of Angola a chance of lasting peace after more than 15 years of fratricidal war.

My delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's coupling of his recommendation in paragraph 18 of a further extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II with his assurance in paragraph 17 that there can be no question of the United Nations abandoning Angola at this critical juncture. Tanzania and many other countries have argued all along for a much larger United Nations presence in Angola than is provided for under UNAVEM II. We did so in the belief that the mission for peace in the complex situation of Angola required substantial resources far beyond those made available to UNAVEM I. We are heartened to note from paragraph 8 that when conditions are right the Secretary-General intends to recommend to the Security Council an enlarged United Nations peace-keeping presence in Angola.

We believe, and we think that many people would agree, that had UNAVEM II had more people on the ground than it had in the run-up to the September elections, many of the problems that the international community now has to

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

contend with could have been averted. Therefore, it is important in planning for the next phase of United Nations involvement in Angola that this lesson be kept in mind.

In this connection, my delegation would like to express the hope that it will not be long before the interim arrangements recommended in paragraph 18, which we support, are replaced by a full-fledged United Nations peace-keeping operation with adequate human and financial resources.

We welcome and support the thrust of the draft resolution before the Council, and particularly the Council's readiness indicated in paragraph 12 to impose sanctions on UNITA if it persists in its defiance of the numerous calls by the Security Council that it honour its obligations under the Bicesse Accords.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

We agree with the Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe that the measures contemplated by the Council in paragraph 12 of the draft resolution should have been imposed forthwith instead of being postponed to 15 September, as proposed. We trust that this is not an empty threat and hope that all concerned, and especially those with influence over UNITA, will use it to ensure that the message gets home.

Allow me to conclude with a word of appreciation to our Secretary-General and to his present and previous Special Representatives, as well as to the Secretariat staff involved, for their untiring efforts to find peace for Angola. It is heartening to note that the frustrations of the conflict have not diminished their commitment and determination to succeed.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Portugal, on whom I now call.

Mr. CATARINO (Portugal): I take this opportunity, Sir, half-way through your term, to pay a tribute to the very able manner in which you have steered the work of the Council during this month of July. I am certain that your excellent qualities will contribute to the smooth and efficient operation of the Council during the remainder of the month. I would also like to extend my sincere congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Juan Antonio Yañez Barnuevo, for the very able way in which he guided the deliberations of this organ during the previous month.

I would also like to salute His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola, Mr. Venancio de Moura, for coming to the Council today, as well as Their Excellencies the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe and Namibia for their presence at this very important meeting.

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

As mediator of the process that led to the signing of the "Acordos de Paz de Bicesse", and as observer, along with the Russian Federation and the United States, of the implementation of these same Accords, my country has special responsibilities which bring us before this Council to express some views on the critical situation in Angola and the derailment of the peace process.

In doing so, it is not our intention to take sides in the Angolan conflict nor to suggest that one or the other be subjugated or annihilated. Quite the contrary - we are absolutely convinced that the future of Angola can only be built on a political solution respecting the results of the elections and not excluding any of the signatory parties. It is essential to ensure the peaceful co-existence and the participation of all Angolans in the political life of their country as a basis for the necessary reconstruction of Angola. The alternative to national reconciliation would be a long war and more destruction, suffering and chaos.

Having said that, however, we feel compelled to denounce the violation of the "Acordos de Paz" by UNITA's leadership and its choice of a strategy of war. This attitude can only be met by an unequivocal condemnation and a vigorous response by the international community and the United Nations. If these are not forthcoming, can we imagine the consequences to regional stability or the example that would be set for other peace processes? What would be the credibility of future commitments taken in similar processes? What would be the credibility of future efforts by the United Nations? A mere verbal condemnation, therefore, is not sufficient. It is necessary that effective and concrete pressure be brought to bear on UNITA, and that UNITA be made to understand that the military way does not pay and that its persistent negative attitude will inevitably incur costs and lead to international isolation.

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

It was in that context that the three observers discussed in Moscow additional measures that might be considered by the Security Council. We take note of the Council's determination to consider the imposition, under the Charter of the United Nations, of measures, against UNITA unless an effective cease-fire is established and an agreement on the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" is reached. We harbour the hope, however, that resort to such measures will not be necessary.

We still hope that UNITA will effectively give concrete proof of a genuine commitment in the search for a negotiated solution based on the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz". But it must do so immediately, not only facilitating the distribution of humanitarian aid but also in the prompt resumption of negotiations under the mediation of the United Nations, as well as in the re-establishment of and compliance with a cease-fire and in a constructive participation in dialogue.

We have just heard the distressing news that UNITA has fired upon the first humanitarian relief flight of the World Food Programme despite having given its agreement little more than a day ago to allow these flights to restart. We view this matter very seriously and do not consider it to be a good omen.

We sincerely hope that UNITA will not be insensitive to the appeal made by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, who recently met in Cairo. At this point, we would like to express our full agreement with the view expressed in the report of the Secretary-General that we should aim at preserving and consolidating the progress achieved in Abidjan.

We would like to pay a tribute to the untiring dedication of the previous Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola, Miss Margaret Anstee, in the cause of peace and democracy in Angola. We place our trust in

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

the efforts of the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Beye, to whom we stand ready to provide all our support. We believe that the role of the United Nations in Angola continues to be essential, and Portugal supports the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) and the possibility of enlarging its presence once a comprehensive agreement has been reached.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Portugal for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Russian Federation, on whom I now call.

Mr. LOZINSKIY (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): At the outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and to express our certainty that your diplomatic talent will guarantee the success of the Council's work this month. The Russian delegation would also like to express its gratitude to the Permanent Representative of Spain, Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, for the effective way in which he guided the work of the Council during the month of June.

The Russian delegation wishes to welcome the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola, Mr. Venancio De Moura, and the Ministers of the other African States who are attending this meeting. We venture to hope that their participation in the Council's work will help us to carry out the task before us: ensuring a rapid return to peace in the settlement of the Angolan question and the imposition of a political solution to the problem.

(Mr. Lozinskiy, Russian Federation)

For a number of years the United Nations has been making great efforts to normalize the situation in Angola. In this connection, we should like to express special gratitude to Miss Margaret Anstee, who selflessly carried out her duties as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Angola, and also to all the staff of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) and other international organizations that are bringing assistance to the people of Angola.

There is serious concern in the Russian Federation over the continuing worsening of the military, political and humanitarian situation in Angola. The Secretary-General's report rightly points out that events there present a serious threat, not just to the people of that country but to the security of the entire area.

Russia, together with the other members of the "Troika" of observers, Portugal and the United States, has been making persistent efforts to bring about a rapid settlement of the Angolan crisis through negotiations. In a joint statement published on 8 July on the results of the Moscow meeting, the "Troika" indicated that the critical situation in Angola was a result of the fact that UNITA was continuing to follow its aggressive military strategy of capturing and occupying territory administered by the Government of Angola; that it was stubbornly refusing to re-establish a cease-fire in accordance with the Peace Accords; and that it was not observing the key principles of those Accords, including its pledges to respect the results of the September 1992 elections, to participate in a government of national reconciliation according to the election results and to integrate its military forces in a unified national armed force.

(Mr. Lozinskiy, Russian Federation)

As evidence of the fact that UNITA and its leadership are continuing to ignore the efforts of the international community to restore peace in the country, we have the latest news agency reports that while the United Nations is preparing to deploy an operation to bring assistance to the peaceful population of Angola who are suffering from the war, on the morning of 14 July armed units of UNITA attempted to break into the administrative centre of the province of Cuito/Bie, which has been under siege for the last six months.

A few hours ago I was called by the Russian Ambassador in Angola. He informed me that this morning, while flying over the airport at Mbanza-Congo, an area controlled by UNITA, a Russian aircraft, an AN-32, was fired upon from the ground as it was delivering humanitarian assistance provided by the World Food Programme. As a result, one of the engines caught fire, but the crew succeeded in returning the aircraft to Luanda. That took place despite the fact that the flight plan to that area had been agreed upon with UNITA.

This policy of continuing military activities and breaking off the democratic process in the country - a process which is being carried out under the auspices and with the assistance of the United Nations - is being pursued by UNITA despite the unfailing readiness of the Government of Angola to achieve a peaceful settlement, in accordance with the Peace Accords and relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

The delegation of the Russian Federation feels that the Security Council must adopt a resolution containing the most serious warning to UNITA that if in the near future it does not agree to establish an effective cease-fire and fully implement the Peace Accords and relevant resolutions of the Security Council, the Council will consider imposing measures under the United Nations Charter, including a mandatory embargo on the sale or supply of arms to that

(Mr. Lozinskiy, Russian Federation)

organization. An effective measure for influencing the leadership of UNITA would be, in our view, the declaration of a ban on commercial ties with that organization and on any assistance to it which is inconsistent with the peace process.

It is clear that if UNITA continues to refuse fully to carry out the relevant decisions of the Security Council, then the question arises of applying to it additional measures, such as freezing its overseas assets and bank accounts.

We also feel that it is important to confirm in the resolution the need to provide assistance to the Government of Angola in support of the democratic process in that country. As was emphasized in the joint statement of the "Troika" of observers:

> "The way to a reasonable political compromise for the sake of the future of the people of Angola is open and the Government of Angola has repeatedly affirmed that." (S/26064, annex, p. 3)

The Russian delegation expects that the leadership of UNITA, for its part, will show political realism and a sense of responsibility to the people of its country and will genuinely work with the Government of Angola for an immediate cease-fire and a just and lasting settlement on the basis of the Peace Accords and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

The Russian Federation will continue to work actively with the international community to bring about a rapid settlement of the situation in Angola and to ensure peaceful, democratic development in that country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Suffice it to say that your broad and sound leadership qualities are becoming increasingly evident in your conduct of our work.

Let me also express our gratitude and respect to your predecessor, Ambassador Yañez Barnuevo of Spain.

My delegation would like to extend a warm welcome to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia, who are here in our midst to underscore the gravity of the situation in Angola.

This meeting of the Council today is crucial in the unfolding tragic events in Angola, which so far have shown no sign of any abatement of the bloodshed, atrocities and destruction. All this is because someone felt that democracy in Angola was irrelevant as long as he was not in charge, opting to gain by force what could not be achieved through the ballot paper. The uncompromising stand thus adopted by UNITA gradually plunged the country into anarchy, economic paralysis, and a grave humanitarian crisis, with almost 2 million displaced people now at risk, according to the Secretary-General's report.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

It is stunning to see how closely the script being followed by UNITA in Angola follows the pattern of other well-known world conflicts. Perhaps the main difficulty this presents to some of us is determining how to sound the alarm again without appearing to be alarmists. For, as in a bad play or television programme, we all know who the "bad guy" is, what he has done, what he is after and what he is going to do. We know, because we have seen the play before; it is just that someone else acted the "bad guy", the language was different and the setting was elsewhere. We have even become adept at identifying the behind-the-scenes backstage supporters who enable the "bad guy" to continue. We cannot, therefore, lose sight of the odious parallels elsewhere: the relentless seizure of additional territories, while pretending to negotiate; besieging cities and towns under Government control and depriving the residents of humanitarian aid by increasingly tightening the siege; and heightening mistrust, which inhibits a meaningful political process.

The combination of the absence of a cease-fire and the complete intransigence of UNITA are indeed a source of great concern to us and the Security Council must express itself forcefully in no uncertain terms - consistent with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) resolution adopted by the African Heads of State and Government in Cairo and with the joint communiqué issued by Russia, the United States and Portugal in Moscow - in particular, to limit UNITA's ability to continue the military campaign and to stop UNITA's defiance of the international community in pursuing its singular aim of conquering the whole country.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

We have all witnessed the numerous false starts and aborted or unsuccessful "reconvened peace talks"; the misleading equating of atrocities by both sides so that "all are equally guilty"; the depopulation of many areas, which we now label "ethnic cleansing"; the widespread use of terror and human-rights violations as a tactic of conflict; and the denial of desperately needed humanitarian aid, again as a tactic of war and terror against innocent civilians. And, of course, there is the expected harassment of international relief personnel and UNAVEM II personnel. In fact, if we replace the names of a few principal towns and actors, Angola could be, say, Bosnia.

The draft resolution before us calls for the extension of UNAVEM II's mandate in Angola for two months, until 15 September 1993. Specifically, this gives the peace talks another chance, and depending on the outcome, the Secretary-General will be in a better position to make realistic recommendations on the future strength and mandate of UNAVEM II. My delegation feels that the continued presence of the United Nations in Angola is imperative. Without a restraining international presence in Angola, there is a strong likelihood of even more widespread human-rights violations, a total breakdown in the delivery of humanitarian aid, and the loss of all mechanisms of any type of peace initiatives. We must not give the Angolan people the idea that the United Nations is deserting them.

But the matter cannot end there. We must also begin to look at those measures which we know will demonstrate the Council's determination to foster the peace process and the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz", reduce the war-making capability of UNITA and give pause to its external supporters, specifically to its suppliers. The Council must look more seriously at placing monitors at borders; using observer flights; instituting trade

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

embargoes against UNITA suppliers, including an arms embargo; closing UNITA offices overseas and denying them international travel and representation; closing foreign accounts and seizing foreign assets; and implicating UNITA officials who promote human-rights violations in possible war-crimes trials. If UNITA is determined to defy the United Nations and the expressed will of the Angolan people, it must realize there will be a price to pay. My delegation feels that only when UNITA is convinced the Council is serious will it negotiate in earnest.

Perhaps it is important to call attention to the tactics being employed by UNITA in Angola and in its dealings with the United Nations. We are simply reliving a nightmare in which a belligerent party has seen what has worked, has witnessed the rewards of unimpeded aggression and has determined to follow the proven course. Our eventual failure to stand up to this brazen defiance may be the real tragedy of Angola, and indeed that of international peace and collective security.

My delegation is particularly concerned at the regional repercussions of this war, where the refugee count is mounting daily in the surrounding countries. Internally, the conflict is fostering a level of inter-ethnic hostility which will take years to dispel. The destruction of national assets and infrastructure will set Angola back economically for decades, while pledged foreign aid sits unused. Agreements concluded for the delivery of humanitarian aid have begun to be denied at the point of delivery, particularly for besieged cities.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his thorough and forthright report (S/26060), and also to take this opportunity to welcome the new Special Representative of the

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

Secretary-General in Angola, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye. We also pay special tribute to Miss Margaret Anstee, who displayed rare courage and tenacity under extremely difficult circumstances and who became the target of vicious attacks by UNITA against her integrity and personality.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Djibouti for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Please allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. You have already impressed all your colleagues with the highly efficient manner in which you have organized our work. I am therefore confident that, with your extensive diplomatic experience and talent, you will successfully steer the work of the Council this month. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Yañez Barnuevo of Spain, for his outstanding contribution to the work of the Council last month.

I should also like to welcome the presence of, and the statements made by, the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Today these three Foreign Ministers have brought to us the voice and aspirations of Africa, and they are very useful to our discussion.

It was expected that after the general election held in September 1992 Angola would leave its bitter past behind and usher in a new era of peace and reconstruction. However, because of UNITA's refusal to accept the results of the election, civil war again broke out, leading to a rapid deterioration of the humanitarian situation and subjecting the Angolan people once again to the torments of war.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

The Abidjan peace talks in April 1993 brought new hopes for peace to the Angolan people. Unfortunately, just as success appeared to be within reach, the talks were suspended in May. As a result, the political and military situation in Angola continues to deteriorate, with UNITA mounting repeated military attacks to seize additional territory, spreading hostilities across the land and forcing a huge exodus of refugees into neighbouring countries. All this has seriously affected regional peace and security, to our profound concern and consternation.

Negotiations and dialogue constitute the only way to resolve the conflict and to achieve national reconciliation in Angola. Any attempt to seek to prevail by resorting to the use of force is myopic. We have noted that, as was pointed out this morning by the Minister for External Relations of the Republic of Angola, the Angolan Government is willing to continue to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict on the basis of the "Acordos de Paz" and the relevant Security Council resolutions. We support this peaceful disposition. Meanwhile, we strongly urge UNITA to cease all hostile actions forthwith and to withdraw immediately from the occupied territories. UNITA must also ensure the safe departure of foreign nationals from areas under its control and unimpeded access for humanitarian relief. UNITA should return to the negotiating table without delay so as to achieve an early cease-fire between the two sides and a comprehensive implementation of the "Acordos de Paz".

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) has all along played a crucial role in the peace process in Angola. It has not only become an indispensable channel of communication between the two conflicting parties, but has also constituted an essential factor in checking a further escalation of the conflict. Therefore, we are in favour of the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II. We believe that the international community should make further efforts to urge the two sides in Angola to resume negotiations for national reconciliation and advance the peace process to a successful conclusion.

The Chinese delegation will be happy to support the draft resolution before the Council.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Miss TRUJILLO (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset, on behalf of my delegation I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency this month. We are confident that with your great intelligence and diplomatic skill you will lead us along the right path.

I wish also to congratulate the Permanent Representative of Spain, Ambassador Yañez-Barnuevo, and the members of his delegation, for the excellent work done last month.

The delegation of Venezuela wishes to express its satisfaction that at this meeting of the Council we have the presence and the participation of the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia, on a subject on which the international community harboured great hopes for the achievement of peace and stability in Angola when the elections were held in September 1992.

(Miss Trujillo, Venezuela)

Nevertheless, today the Security Council must once again renew UNAVEM's mandate for two months so that the United Nations can take vigorous action and achieve a peace agreement, as recommended by the Secretary-General in his last report. For Venezuela, UNITA's persistent refusal to accept the results of the elections, its launching armed attacks against the defenceless population and against democratically elected institutions and its renewed efforts to seize more territory are cause for deep concern. These actions have been vigorously condemned by the Council in many resolutions.

The humanitarian consequences of the hostilities and the suffering they have caused the civilian population are aggravating the situation, which is already catastrophic. It is essential for the talks to resume, and accordingly my delegation appeals to the parties, and in particular to UNITA, to resume, without delay, the peace talks under United Nations auspices with a view to achieving an immediate cease-fire throughout the country and the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz".

Venezuela also condemns all UNITA's military actions and appeals to it to abandon the use of force, which has caused Angola and its people so much harm, and to abide by the norms of international humanitarian law.

One of the merits of democracy and its institutions is precisely coexistence, participation and cooperation between parties, even though their opinions diverge. The only necessary ingredient is the parties' political will to achieve stability, development and the well-being of the country and its people. It is Venezuela's hope that these will form a common ground between the parties, and that UNITA will refrain from any action that is not in accordance with the principles set forth in the Bicesse Peace Accords.

(Miss Trujillo, Venezuela)

The present situation justifies the Council's beginning to consider the possibility of imposing more effective measures on UNITA, including an embargo on the sale and supply of arms and on all types of military assistance unless the Secretary-General, as indicated in the draft resolution, informs us by 15 September that an effective cease-fire and the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" have been achieved.

We trust that this new extension will give time for new ideas and actions towards achieving a lasting political solution.

I should not like to conclude without expressing our gratitude for the work carried out by the international observers of the "Troika" to promote the peace process, and we encourage them to continue their search for a peaceful solution to the conflict. We are also grateful for the efforts of the countries members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the constant dedication and determination of the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II).

My Government wishes to pay a special tribute to Miss Margaret Anstee for her invaluable work in the cause of peace in Angola, and we also express our support for the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, who we are sure will continue the efforts to achieve peace and stability in Angola.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Venezuela for her kind words addressed to me.

Mr. KEATING (New Zealand): I should like to join the other members of the Council in wishing you well during your presidency, Sir.

I welcome the presence of the Foreign Minister of Angola, as well as the Foreign Ministers of Zimbabwe and Namibia, at this meeting. That they have

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

come all the way to New York is a mark of the seriousness with which regional States and the international community as a whole view developments in Angola. We pay tribute to their efforts and to the efforts of those countries that have worked and are continuing to work for a peaceful solution in Angola.

I also pay special tribute to Miss Margaret Anstee, the Secretary-General's former Special Representative for Angola, for the commitment and courage she displayed in carrying out her difficult mission in the cause of peace in that country. I congratulate Mr. Beye on his appointment as Special Representative, and wish him success in his important assignment.

Since the suspension of the Abidjan peace talks on 21 May the tragic situation in Angola has worsened. The fighting has intensified and the humanitarian situation is more critical than ever. The New Zealand Government shares the deep international concern about the continuing lack of a peaceful setlement. New Zealand has shown its commitment to helping resolve the conflict in Angola peacefully through its contribution of military observers to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission. We are ready to resume that observer contribution as soon as circumstances permit. To this end, we join the other members of the Council in urging an immediate cease-fire and the resumption of political dialogue. That is what the situation demands.

New Zealand will support the draft resolution now before the Council. The draft resolution condemns UNITA's continuing violations of the Peace Accords. It makes clear the steps that UNITA must now take: accept the results of the elections; cease military operations; withdraw its troops from locations occupied since the resumption of hostilities; and enter into real

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

and substantive dialogue with the Government towards the full implementation of the Peace Accords.

New Zealand urges UNITA to take these steps now and not prolong the suffering which it has caused for the Angolan people, who are desperate for peace in their country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of New Zealand for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): Allow me, first of all, to fulfil the pleasant task of offering my delegation's congratulations, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. We are convinced that under your wise and able leadership our work will be crowned with success. We therefore assure you of our fullest cooperation.

My congratulations also go to Ambassador Juan Antonio Yañez Barnuevo, the Permanent Representative of Spain, for his effective stewardship of the Council last month.

I cannot fail to welcome the presence among us of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

I should like to thank the Secretary-General for the excellent report he provided us on recent tragic developments in Angola.

I wish to take this opportunity to express to Miss Margaret Anstee the admiration and gratitude of my country's delegation for her efforts and extraordinary courage throughout the period when she worked in the service of peace in Angola as the Secretary-General's Special Representative.

It is our firm conviction that her successor, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, whose human and diplomatic attributes are well known, will be able to continue successfully Miss Anstee's endeavours to restore peace and security in Angola. We express to him our full support and give him our full confidence.

The Kingdom of Morocco is very much concerned over the deterioration of the situation in Angola, more particularly since the suspension of the Abidjan talks on 21 May this year. This situation is even more alarming because the intensification of hostilities, which have become particularly bloody, results in an ever-increasing flow of refugees towards neighbouring States and constitutes a constant threat to the foreign nationals residing in Angola.

(Mr. Benjelloun-Touimi, Morocco)

We cannot remain indifferent in the face of these disturbing developments in the humanitarian situation, described as catastrophic by the Secretary-General. They call for our collective and individual solidarity. Indeed, more than 2 million people need increased food and medical assistance in order to survive. That is why we wish to pay an exceptional tribute to the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) and the humanitarian agencies operating on the ground, which, despite difficult conditions and grave risks to their safety, assure the effective channelling of humanitarian assistance to the civilian populations.

The unjustified and unjustifiable suspension of the delivery of this assistance is not such as to favour the resumption of dialogue or restore confidence between the two parties. We therefore urgently appeal to those parties no longer to hinder the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the different regions of the country and to ensure the maintenance of the required security conditions.

My country endorses the Council's appeal to the two parties to respect the rules of international humanitarian law and to guarantee, especially to civilian populations in need, unimpeded access to humanitarian assistance.

Unobstructed delivery of humanitarian asssistance is certainly necessary, but it cannot be an end in itself. The restoration of peace and security in Angola necessarily requires an urgent, immediate resumption of the peace talks under the auspices of the United Nations, with a view to re-establishing an effective cease-fire and assuring implementation of the Peace Accords, to which both parties have subscribed.

Consequently, my delegation notes the willirgness of the two parties to resume these talks in the light of the results of the Abidjan meeting, and we

(Mr. Benjelloun-Touimi, Morocco)

encourage the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to that end.

My country also hopes that the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II will lead to the achievement of the progress needed for the expansion of the United Nations presence in Angola in order to facilitate and contribute to the completion of the peace process and thus allow this brotherly country to get on with the task of reconstruction and economic and social development for the benefit of the battered people of Angola, who have suffered the horrors of this bloody conflict far too long.

Convinced that the draft resolution before the Council fully responds to most of our concerns and will undoubtedly contribute to peace and harmony in Angola and in the region, my delegation fully supports it and will therefore vote in favour of it.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words addressed to me.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/26080.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 851 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the vote.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): In all honesty, Mr. President, I cannot remember whether I have congratulated you or not, but to be safe I shall do so again.

My Government applauds the efforts of Miss Margaret Anstee, who laboured tirelessly as the Secretary-General's previous Special Representative, to attempt to bring peace to Angola. We applaud as well the energetic efforts of the newly appointed Special Representative, Mr. Beye, who has worked since his appointment to revive both humanitarian-assistance deliveries and face-to-face negotiations between the parties. The 12 July agreement on emergency aid between UNITA and the United Nations is a hopeful sign that the need to deal with the humanitarian problems facing Angola has been acknowledged. We continue to support the efforts of the United Nations to bring the conflict in Angola to a peaceful conclusion.

We also applaud and support the United Nations effort to alleviate the humanitarian suffering in Angola. We continue to be gravely concerned about the plight of the people of Angola. In this context we call on UNITA to refrain from military action and return to the peace process. We also recognize the costs of continued conflict for the people of Angola and the international community.

We must also note that it is only logical that we shall not be able to agree to increase the strength of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) until conditions have been established that will make exercise of its mandate feasible. Furthermore, before agreeing to additional commitments, we shall need to have the Secretariat's clear advice on the costs involved and their duration.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

United Nations peace-keeping has become a growth industry. But before we can effectively meet the increased demand, we must understand the needs of those demanding our services and how our scarce resources are being employed. Our goal is to retool the peace-keeping machinery so as to meet the new demand. Until then, we must ensure that our limited supply is used to best effect.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for her kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): I think, Mr. President, I congratulated you last week.

Japan is deeply disturbed by the deterioration of the political and military situation in Angola as fighting intensifies. Particularly reprehensible are the repeated attempts by UNITA to seize additional territory. UNITA must be made to realize that international society will not recognize its seizure of territory by force or its claim to an expanded power base.

One of the main elements contributing to the intensification of fighting is the reported foreign military involvement in Angola. Japan insists, in the strongest possible terms, that all States refrain from providing any form of military assistance, particularly to UNITA. Further efforts by the international community might be necessary to ensure the full cooperation of outside countries.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

It is encouraging that the Government of Angola and UNITA have both expressed their readiness to resume peace talks and facilitate humanitarian relief operations. But the ongoing and intensified fighting has deepened the mistrust on both sides, and further confidence-building measures may be required. I strongly hope that UNAVEM II and the Special Representative will exercise their important good offices and mediation functions to ensure that the direct talks will be successful.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Under these circumstances, Japan agrees to the extension of the existing mandate of UNAVEM II for a period of two months. In the meantime, we urge both parties to return without further delay to the peace talks with a view to the immediate establishment of a cease-fire.

The fact that the lives of 2 million people are now at risk and that those people are dependent on aid for their survial is truly deplorable. In March this year Japan extended additional emergency aid to the International Committee of the Red Cross in order to ease the suffering in Angola. Any attempt to deny access to relief aid by those who need it most is never justifiable. I strongly urge UNITA to cooperate with the resumption of humanitarian assistance activities.

I also wish to emphasize the importance of post-conflict peace-building, as mentioned this morning by His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Namibia, not only as a means of preventing the recurrence of conflict but also as a means of promoting the peace process by giving hope to the parties in conflict and to the people of Angola for the future of their country.

Japan will continue to do its best to support the Angolan people in their efforts to restore peace and to reconstruct their country. But at the same time I must stress that in the final analysis it is up to the Angolans themselves to establish a firm foundation for peace and social and economic reconstruction.

I wish to welcome the presence here of African leaders participating in our debate, including Their Excellencies the Foreign Minister of Angola, the Foreign Minister of Namibia and the Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Let me now, on behalf of my Government, express sincere gratitude and appreciation to Miss Margaret Anstee for her splendid work as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola under extremely difficult circumstances. I wish also to congratulate Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye on his appointment as the new Special Representative for Angola. I trust that he will meet the challenge of his important mandate in an effective manner.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Japan for the kind words he addressed to me on the last occasion!

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): Secure in the knowledge that I have not congratulated you already, Sir, permit me to congratulate you now on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of July. Your diplomatic skills and experience, already manifest in the work of the Council, are an assurance of the success of our deliberations during the rest of the month.

I would also wish to express my delegation's warm appreciation of the splendid work done by your predecessor, Ambassador Yañez Barnuevo of Spain, as President of the Council for the month of June.

My delegation would also wish to express a warm welcome to the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, whose presence here today will have a profound influence on the work of the Council.

My delegation welcomes and appreciates the timely and comprehensive further report of the Secretary-General on Angola. The report provides an authentic account of the situation on the ground and charts a course of action for putting an end to the unfortunate and tragic strife in Angola.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

I should like to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to Miss Margaret Anstee, who, as the Secretary-General's Special Representative, made an outstanding effort to restore peace in Angola and spared no effort to bring the two parties together for a dialogue. In fact, the considerable progress made at the Abidjan talks was almost entirely due to her leadership, tact, patience and perseverance. Her indomitable courage and resilience in the face of impossible odds and dangerous living conditions are deserving of the highest admiration.

Pakistan also welcomes the appointment of the new Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, who, in the very short period since he assumed office, has already made a positive contribution through his intensive efforts to revive the peace process.

My delegation would also like to pay a special and respectful tribute to President Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire for the efforts he has made and the guidance he provided during the many and prolonged negotiations in Abidjan. This is yet another manifestation of President Houphouët-Boigny's long and devoted service to the cause of Africa and world peace.

We are deeply concerned and alarmed at the deteriorating political, military and humanitarian situation in Angola. Not only has the country been plunged into senseless destruction and massive suffering, but ominous developments also threaten to destabilize the entire region. The presence of eminent representatives of African States - the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe - in the Council's debate today is indicative of the concern that is rightly manifested in the international community; their views will doubtless receive the serious consideration they merit.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

The intensified fighting in response to UNITA's offensive has further vitiated the atmosphere for dialogue and negotiations for the resolution of the crisis in Angola. Unfortunately, the hapless victims of this self-destructive frenzy are the people of Angola, whose plight has reached catastrophic proportions.

We support the consistent efforts made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to restore a cease-fire, re-launch the peace process suspended at Abidjan in June, and provide emergency humanitarian assistance. We also appreciate the initiatives taken at the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and by the three observer countries to bring about a cease-fire and the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz".

My delegation fully supports the resolution adopted by the Council today, which is clear and unequivocal and encompasses the core issues to be addressed for a comprehensive solution of the crisis in Angola. The resolution warns UNITA in the strongest terms against its continued military campaign, its refusal to withdraw its troops from the areas it has occupied, and its continuing obstruction of humanitarian assistance. It has also been made clear to UNITA that the Council will not accept further delay in establishing a cease-fire, which should be the starting point for the peace process, or countenance totally unwarranted prevarications regarding the implementation of the Bicesse Accords. The two parties, and particularly UNITA, must be persuaded to resume dialogue without further delay and proceed on the basis of the progress that has so painstakingly been made after the protracted negotiations in Abidjan. The conduct and sincerity of UNITA, which is the most crucial factor in the reinstatement of the peace process, should be judged on the basis of UNITA's actions, not its declarations and protestations.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

We must give a firm deadline for the establishment of a cease-fire and the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz". A clear signal and firm determination on the part of the Council are necessary elements in extricating Angola's divided polity from its self-inflicted tragedy.

My delegation feels that in the extremely bleak situation prevailing in Angola, the heroic role of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) is the only ray of hope. We therefore fully endorse the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II and the Council's decision to extend the existing mandate for a period of two months. But clearly this period must be used to find a lasting solution to the conflict in Angola.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): I should like to express our great pleasure at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council this month. We also thank Ambassador Yañez Barnuevo of Spain for his excellent work as President of the Council last month.

Hungary voted in favour of resolution 851 (1993) because it is very concerned by the constantly deteriorating situation in Angola. As was pointed out in our debate this morning, the crisis in Angola is an African problem. We hasten to add that it cannot be considered as an exclusively African problem. It concerns the entire world and constitutes a problem which, through its ramifications and its lessons, must be of concern to the entire international community.

Hungary fully supports maintaining the United Nations presence in Angola and extending the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II). It attaches fundamental importance to the pursuit of the peace process and the full implementation of the Peace Accords. Hungary welcomes the demand in the resolution that UNITA accept unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of 1992 and that it act accordingly. Hungary condemns the continuing military actions of UNITA and its attempts to acquire additional territory, which are completely incompatible with the spirit and the letter of the Peace Accords. Given the lack of agreement on the full implementation of the Peace Accords and of the relevant Security Council resolutions, Hungary supports the imposition of necessary mandatory measures to prevent UNITA from carrying on its military actions. In mentioning that possibility, the Council is sending a clear message to those to whom it is directed.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

The current activity of UNITA reflects a political mentality which the international community must firmly reject. It is an attitude which has nothing to do with the objectives of the democratic process in Angola. There is another way open to UNITA - the renunciation of violence and its constructive participation, to a degree commensurate with its popular support in the country, in the vast undertaking of rebuilding the State, devastated by a war that has dragged on too long and has caused a humanitarian tragedy of incredible dimensions.

We wish to pay a special tribute to Miss Anstee, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who held that position until mid-year, for her tireless, unceasing efforts to settle the Angolan crisis. At the same time, we wish success to Mr. Beye, the Secretary-General's new Special Representative for Angola.

Hungary welcomes the presence among us of several African Foreign Ministers and their participation in our debate. Their presence and their words remind us, as if we needed reminding, that the Security Council could not, in any circumstance or in any region of the world, shirk its universal responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Hungary for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): It is a particular pleasure for me to extend my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on the work you have done since assuming the presidency of the Council at the beginning of this month. I would also like to express our compliments and gratitude to the Ambassador of Spain for the way in which he presided over the Council last month.

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

The development of the situation in Angola - where the civil war is intensifying, the fate of the civilian population is detiorating daily, and people are dying by the thousands of famine or the consequences of this frightful war - is of deep concern to my Government. Encircling territories, attacking trains carrying civilians and placing obstacles in the way of the delivery of humanitarian aid are hateful methods which my Government condemns. The continuation of the confrontations is all the more shocking in that 10 months ago the Angolan people resolutely decided in favour of implementing the Bicesse Peace Accords and democratic principles.

My delegation, which rejoiced at the time over the convening of peace talks under United Nations auspices in Abidjan - we pay tribute to the roles played by the Secretary-General's Special Representative and the authorities of Côte d'Ivoire in the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict - deeply deplores the failure of those negotiations, which it believes is due to UNITA's intransigence. France appeals once again for dialogue between the leaders of the two parties, and emphasizes that no military solution is acceptable. France hopes that the negotiations will be able to resume and reach a speedy conclusion. Otherwise, we are prepared to consider within the framework of the Security Council the imposition of any necessary measures against the party opposed to peace.

My delegation expresses its deepest indignation at the attacks and threats against the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II), who are in that country on a mission of peace, and against the humanitarian convoys. France demands that these intolerable acts end immediately. My delegation wishes to reiterate its great admiration of the devotion and courage of the UNAVEM II personnel, who - under the earlier

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

leadership of Miss Anstee, to whom we pay tribute, and now under that of Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye - are fulfilling their mission under extremely difficult conditions. My delegation considers that the role of mediator between the two camps played by the Secretary-General's Special Representative is particularly essential.

With its vote in favour of this resolution extending the mandate of UNAVEM II by two months, my delegation reaffirms its commitment to the Bicesse Peace Accords and its faith in the United Nations presence, and intends to give peace another chance. It hopes that this message will be heard and that the parties will seize this opportunity, so that the people of Angola can live in dignity and devote all their energy to rebuilding its country, with the help of the international community.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United Kingdom.

I should like to begin by joining other members of the Council in praising the work of Miss Margaret Anstee, the retiring Special Representative of the Secretary-General. I am sure that she will understand our shared characteristic of understatement when I say how proud her fellow countrymen and countrywomen are of the work she did and the example she set. If I could single out one thing which I thought was quite remarkable, it was the way in which she explained on the BBC World Service, day after day, the sufferings of the people of Angola and kept the world's attention on a part which it was all too inclined to forget.

(The President)

I would also very much like to welcome the appointment of the new Special Representative. He has a hard act to follow, but he has our good wishes and our support.

I welcome the Ministers of countries neighbouring Angola and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola, who came to this meeting. I think that the presence of the Ministers from Namibia and Zimbabwe is a very clear manifestation that other countries of the region, as well as those represented on this Council, are not prepared to give up on Angola, however depressing the current situation there may be.

My Government bitterly regrets the stalement and the continued fighting, and it believes that UNITA bears a heavy responsibility for the continuing deaths and suffering thereby caused. We also believe that UNITA has failed lamentably to cooperate with the United Nations agencies over humanitarian measures to alleviate the suffering. Today's news of firing at a World Food Programme flight is only the latest in a litany of such outrages. Our main hope, like that of other members of the Council, must lie in the resumption of the talks that were suspended at Abidjan. No opportunity to resume these talks should be missed, and we hope that all concerned will show the flexibility which - certainly in the case of UNITA - has so far been lacking, in the weeks ahead when attempts are made to resume those discussions.

(The President)

Meanwhile, I hope that UNITA will note the rising tide of criticism and rejection of its policies by the whole world community and the intention stated in this resolution to be willing to take measures if there is no change in those policies.

The presence of Ministers from Angola's neighbours and the things they have said about the policies of UNITA and their view of them should show how comprehensively UNITA's present policies are rejected by its neighbours. These trends surely signal a poor future for UNITA if it ignores the message and fails to change its policies.

I now resume my function as President of the Council. The Minister for External Relations of Angola has asked to speak, and I invite him to make his statement.

Mr. DE MOURA (Angola): First of all, I am really emotional. I want to thank all members of the Security Council for the wholehearted support we have just received.

Although I have known you for some years, Mr. President, and have been aware of your competence, I never saw you deal with matters such as those we have been discussing here today. Some years ago, we spent days, or even weeks, here discussing a single point. Today, as some members have said, under your able leadership, in just a few hours we succeeded in adopting resolution 851 (1993) on the Angolan situation. Not having congratulated you this morning, Sir, I take this occasion to thank you personally and to congratulate you on the way in which you have conducted this meeting.

I also want to thank the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts to bring peace to Angola. With the support of the international community - especially with the support of all of you here - the Angolan Government, after

(Mr. De Moura, Angola)

30 years of fighting, will surely succeed in bringing peace to the Angolan people. My Government will therefore appreciate your continuing support, bilateral or multilateral, to help us attain that goal.

On behalf of my Government and my delegation, I reiterate our thanks for adopting this resolution, which I hope will be implemented with your collective support and assistance.

My thanks go also to the Ministers of the African front-line States who have come here to participate in this debate and to lend global perspective to the situation prevailing in Angola. Similarly, to the representatives of Portugal, Zambia and the OAU, to Ministers of the front-line States and all other representatives here present, as well as to the friends who have intervened with the 15 members of the Security Council, I extend our sincere thanks, and, as I said this morning, Mr. President, I wish you well and all success in your work. Thank you so much.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Minister for External Relations of Angola for his kind words addressed to me. I am sure that all my colleagues are extremely grateful to him for the words that he addressed to us.

We are frequently told by those who attend our meetings that we have not done enough when we think we have done quite a lot. On this occasion I suspect most of us feel we have done a very insufficient amount for a country that suffers as much as yours; you have had the kindness to thank us for it, and that is very welcome.

There being no further speakers, the Security Council has concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.